AN ESTIMATE OF THE MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE TIMES.

By the AUTHOR of
ESSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICS, &c.

Tu, ne cede Malis; sed contra audentior ito.

VOL. II.

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CONTENTS.

PART I.

Additional Remarks on the ruling Manners and Principles.

SECT. I.

The Design of this VOLUME, Page 9.

SECT. II.

Remarks on the Introductory Section of the First Volume, p. 14.

SECT. III.

Farther Remarks on the Spirit of Liberty, p. 29.

SECT. IV.

Remarks on the Spirit of Humanity, p. 36.

SECT.

SECT. V.

A Remark on the Inhumanity of the ITALIANS, p. 41.

SECT. VI.

Remarks on the ruling Manners of the Times, p. 48.

SECT. VII.

On the present ruling Motives to Marriage, and their Effects on Manners and Principles, p. 55.

SECT. VIII.

Of another Source of the improper Education of Youth, p. 62.

SECT. IX.

Farther Remarks on the Universities, p. 64.

SECT. X.

An Additional Remark on modern Travelling, p. 69.

SECT. XI.

Farther Observations on the Manners of the Times, p. 71.

SECT. XII.

SECT. XII.

Of the ruling Principles of the Times, p. 82.

PART II.

Additional Remarks on the PUBLIC EFFECTS *of theſe Manners and Principles.*

SECT. I.

Farther Remarks on the National Capacity, p. 103.

SECT. II.

The Writer's Apology for himſelf, p. 121.

SECT. III.

Farther Remarks on the National Spirit of Defence, p. 125.

SECT. IV.

Of the different Genius and Permanency of Popery and Proteſtantiſm, p. 127.

SECT. V.

SECT. V.

How far the Spirit of Duelling is connected with the manly Spirit of Defence, p. 153.

SECT. VI.

A remarkable Conſequence ariſing from this Difference of Principle, p. 156.

SECT. VII.

Of a National Militia, p. 159.

SECT. VIII.

Farther Remarks on the State of our Armies, p. 165.

SECT. IX.

The ſame Subject continued, p. 171.

SECT. X.

Additional Thoughts on the Navy, p. 174.

SECT. XI.

Of the Marine Society, p. 179.

SECT. XII.

SECT. XII.

Farther Conſiderations on the National Spirit of Union, p. 181.

SECT. XIII.

The ſame Subject continued, p. 188.

SECT. XIV.

Remarks on the Conduct of a famous Miniſter, p. 204.

SECT. XV.

A Reflection on the future Effects of Parliamentary Influence on the Balance of Power, p. 211.

SECT. XVI.

Of the immediate Conſequences of national Selfiſhneſs and Diſunion, p. 238.

SECT. XVII.

Of the moſt practicable Remedy for this capital Evil, p. 240.

SECT. XVII.

By what Means this Remedy can be effected, p. 243.

SECT. XIX.

Of the Characteristics of a great Minister, p. 252.

SECT. XX.

Conclusion, p. 259.

ERRATA.

Pag.	lin.	for	read
10.	13.	severest Impartiality	severest *intentional* Impartiality.
22.	4.	by upon others	upon by others.
47.	14.	and as could	and such as could.
54.	*penult.*	flagitious	flagitious.

PART I.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE RULING MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES.

PART I.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON The RULING MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

The Design of this VOLUME.

SECT. I.

HAD the first Volume of this Work met with a less favourable Reception in the World, a second had not been offered to its Perusal.

THERE are certain Subjects, in which the Public are little concerned; and in

SECT. I. which they are certainly no competent Judges. But in thoſe Topics which relate to the moral or political Happineſs of Man, the general Voice of a People is perhaps the beſt Criterion of Truth and Falſehood.

I SHALL not dwell at preſent on the Proof of this. I only ſpeak my Opinion; and this, no farther than to apologize for theſe additional Remarks, which are in Part thrown out in Conſequence of that Belief.

THE Author eaſily foreſaw, that a Work of this Nature, whoſe very Exiſtence depended on the ſevereſt Impartiality, muſt give Offence to many Individuals: that by ſome he muſt be reckoned arrogant and aſſuming, by others imprudent, and blind to his own Intereſts; that by one Set he ſhould be ſtigmatized as a Republican, by another as a Tory: That ſome ſhould allow the Subſtance of the Work to be good, but affirm it to be ſtolen; others, that the Subſtance

Subſtance was his own, but altogether good for nothing. That he ſhould by Turns be ſtigmatized as the Friend of arbitrary Rule, and ſeditious Democracy; as an inſolent Abuſer of thoſe in Power, a ſervile Flatterer of thoſe who have none; that every contradictory Charge ſhould be heaped upon him, which blind Partiality, effeminate Manners, profligate Principles, ſelfiſh Cunning, political Servility, and Depravity of Heart could ſuggeſt, was from the firſt his Expectation (not his Fear) becauſe it was his determined Purpoſe, to combat theſe Enormities. SECT. I.

With much Calmneſs therefore hath he heard of theſe various Accuſations, and leaves thoſe who chuſe, at their full Liberty to believe any of them, or all. In the mean time, he wraps himſelf up in the Integrity of his Intentions, and in thoſe undeſerved Honours which have been done

SECT. I.

his little Work, both in his own and in foreign Countries.

HE hath heard too, of certain written Criticiſms on his *Eſtimate:* But if he does not read, how can it be expected he ſhould anſwer them? Yet this he believes, from the Report of ſome of his Friends, that if his temporary Critics had applied to him for Occaſions of Cenſure or Reproof, he could have furniſhed them with a juſter Catalogue than what they have produced againſt him in their ſtill-born Eſſays. As therefore theſe Gentlemen, it ſeems, profeſs themſelves the Servants of the ungrateful Public, it muſt needs be agreeable to them, that an Author ſhould alleviate their deſpiſed Labours, and ſet himſelf to criticiſe his own Writings.

THIS therefore is declared to be the ſimple Intent of the preſent Volume: And that

that his Readers may more clearly comprehend the main Drift of a Work which, from its Nature, cannot admit of Form, he thinks it expedient to premiſe the ſeveral Claſſes, under which his Remarks will fall. SECT. I.

Firſt, they will contain *Retractions* of ſuch Miſtakes as the Writer thinks he hath committed.

Secondly, of *Proofs* in ſuch Points as were affirmed and not proved.

Thirdly, of *Illuſtrations* in thoſe Particulars which were hinted, but not explained.

Fourthly, of *Replies* to ſuch capital Objections, as have been made to his general Syſtem, by preceding Writers on the ſame Subject.

Fifthly, of the *Conſequences* which may be fairly deduced from his Principles, and

SECT. I. thro' a deſigned Brevity were omitted in the firſt Volume.

THE intelligent Reader will readily comprehend, that theſe ſeveral Topics are not to be collectively conſidered, in the Order in which they are here laid down; but touched on as they riſe ſucceſſively in the Peruſal of the firſt Volume. To *that* they refer; and therefore any other Diſpoſition of Parts than what is ſubordinate to the Method there purſued, though it might carry the Appearance of *Order*, would be *Diſorder* in the Reſult.

SECT. II.

Remarks on the introductory Section of the firſt Volume.

SECT. II. THE very firſt Paragraph, it ſeems, wanted an Explanation. For when the Author affirmed that "our Misfortunes "had not their Source in the particular "and

" and accidental Conduct of Individuals, SECT.
" but arose from permanent and eſtabliſh- II.
" ed Cauſes." His Affirmation has been wreſted into this unmeaning Form, " that " no Individuals were delinquent in their " reſpective Stations." The candid Critic will not haſtily lay this Charge upon him. For in Truth he meant not to deny, that all may have been delinquent in their Turn. What he inſiſts upon, is this, " That this Failure or Delinquency is not " merely perſonal or accidental, but " founded in the eſtabliſhed Manners and " Principles of the Times; and therefore " cannot probably be rectify'd effectually, " by any Change of Men, or even of " Meaſures, till theſe Manners and Prin- " ciples are controuled." Need we any additional Facts, to prove this Truth?

He ſpoke too of certain profligate Scribblers, who find their Account in laying all to the Charge of a few Individuals.

SECT. II.

It hath been aſked, "who are theſe Scribblers?" Indeed, he remembers not their Names; and beſides, if he did, the Catalogue would be too large to inſert here. Their Characters, however, he can give in a few Words. "All thoſe who "dabble on the Surface of the political "Deep; who ply their wretched Oar for "Bread, hire themſelves out to whoever "offers them a Fare; and then, like true "*Thames-Watermen*, abuſe every Man "that paſſes who is better dreſſed than "themſelves, or their Retainers."

THESE Men have been toiling many a Day, to impreſs the Body of the People with this Opinion, "That if certain In-"dividuals were but removed from the "public Adminiſtration, our Affairs "would of courſe go well." This hath been the Cry ſo long, that, till of late, the Truth of the Affirmation hath ſcarce been doubted. The Manners, the Principles, the

the Characters, the Conduct, of the higher Ranks and leading Members of the Community, from whence alone every State will for ever derive its particular Colour and Complexion, Strength or Weakneſs; theſe were never taken into the Account. Alas, what can it avail, that a Nation hath a Head, if ſhe have no Hands! But Experience is the beſt Teacher: She hath already taught us much on this Topic; and, I fear, will teach us more. SECT. II.

"AMONG all Cauſes, none perhaps ſo "much contributes to raiſe or ſink a Na- "tion, as the Manners and Principles of "its People*." Many other Cauſes may concur, and may indeed be the immediate Inſtruments of a Nation's Ruin; while the original Cauſe lies hid, or is ſeen only by thoſe few, who dare deſcend and penetrate to the Foundations of political Happineſs and Stability. 'Tis eaſy to ſee

* Vol. I. p. 13.

when

SECT. II.

when an Arch is ſhrunk; 'tis quite another Thing to find out the original Cauſe of its giving Way.

THE Preſident MONTESQUIEU hath a fine Obſervation, which may well be apply'd to this Subject; though that great Writer hath not ſo apply'd it. He ſays, "that, if "any Nation is undone by a particular "Event, as the Loſs of a Battle, there "muſt be ſome general Cauſe, why the "Loſs of a ſingle Battle could undo that "Nation *." He adds, "we ſee that for "near two Centuries the Land Armies of "*Denmark* have been almoſt always beat-"en by thoſe of *Sweden*: Setting aſide "the natural Courage and the Weapons "of the two Nations, there muſt be ſome "internal Defect in the military or civil "State of *Denmark*, which could be ſuf-"ficient to produce that Effect: And I "think it would not be difficult to deve-

* Grand. des Romains, &c. l. xviii.

"lope

"lope it *." 'Tis pity he did not exert his Sagacity in this Enquiry. It was the Fate of *France* to be always beaten by the Allies in the general War which ravaged *Europe*, in the Beginning of this Century. What might be the ruling Cauſes of that general Effect, may hereafter be conſidered. Far different is the Fate of *France* and *England* at preſent: And it hath been, and is the Writer's main Intent to prove, that the ruling Cauſe of this ſtrange Cataſtrophe lies in the Manners and Principles of the leading Ranks of this degenerate Nation, and to trace thoſe Manners and Principles to their reſpective Sources. SECT. II.

LET me here add another Obſervation. Political Writers have generally attributed the Fall of States to ſome defective, falſe or improper Principle woven into the original Conſtitution of their *Laws*. Now

* Ibid.

this,

SECT. II.

this, in that Extent in which it is generally affirmed and underſtood, ſeems an entire Miſtake. For ſalutary Principles and Manners will of themſelves ſecure the Duration of a State, with very ill-modelled Laws: Whereas the beſt Laws can never ſecure the Duration of a State, where Manners and Principles are corrupted. Of theſe Truths, Hiſtory affords Inſtances abundant. The general Defect, therefore, of political Inſtitutions hath been, their not effectually providing for the Continuance and Stability of Principles and Manners; of Religion, Public Spirit, Honour, Temperance, Fortitude. This Truth will perhaps be readily allowed, as it regards Nations that are deeply ſunk in Effeminacy, and ready to be ſwallowed up by ſome warlike Neighbours: But it is no leſs certain, as it regards the internal Ballance of Power in any Nation whatever; although Volumes have been written on that Subject, without

out ſo much as taking this Truth into the Account*. To offer one Inſtance, out of innumerable that might be brought from every Period of Hiſtory;—It is the ſole Force of *Manners* and a *Principle*, that prevents *France* from ſinking into the deepeſt and moſt abandoned Deſpotiſm. This Principle, and it's correſpondent Manners give the *French* many of the Bleſſings of Liberty; while their mere political Conſtitution ſavours as much of Deſpotiſm as that of many of their Neighbours, who feel all the Rigours of Oppreſſion.

SECT. II.

HENCE then appears the important Use of inveſtigating the real and particular State of the Manners and Principles of a Com-

* Two of our own Countrymen, Lord *Bolingbroke* and Mr. *David Hume*, (the firſt of them eſteemed a capital Writer in Politics) have written whole Syſtems of Policy, without ſo much as mentioning, or ſeeming to regard, this ruling Circumſtance.

monwealth,

SECT. II.

monwealth: Since, altho' it be a Circumſtance totally overlooked by many ſuperficial Pretenders to the political Science, and looſely and blindly declaimed by upon others, yet is it the only Method by which we can rationally determine the Strength or Weakneſs, the Danger or Security of a State.

And here the penetrating MACHIAVEL ſeems to have erred in his Determinations on this Point. He ſays, "As good Cuſtoms cannot ſubſiſt without good Laws, "ſo good Laws cannot be executed without good Cuſtoms*." The latter Part of the Sentence is a great Truth: The former Part is a vulgar Error. So long as the Cauſes of corrupt Manners are abſent, good Manners preſerve themſelves without

* Diſc. l. i. c. xviii.

The ſeveral Paſſages quoted from MACHIAVEL, are generally taken, with very few Alterations, from the Tranſlation publiſhed in 1680: The Author did not think it neceſſary to load the Page with the Paſſages in the Original *Italian*; as it is a Language, which but a few of his Readers may have ſtudied.

"Laws,

Laws, or with bad Laws. Good Laws are only then neceſſary, as the Means of Prevention, when corrupt Manners or Cuſtoms take Place. SECT. II.

"To rail at the Times at large, can "ſerve no good Purpoſe; and generally "ariſeth from a Want of Knowledge, or "a Want of Honeſty *." No Labour is more *uſeleſs*, than that of railing at the Times at large, becauſe, as a great Writer hath obſerved, "no certain Rule can be "preſcribed, unleſs we know the Degrees, "or Kinds of Corruption †". No Labour is more *eaſy*, than to rail at large on the Corruptions of the Times, becauſe there are Corruptions in *all* Times. Nothing perhaps is more *difficult*, than to point out the peculiar Colour, and leading Character, of any Times: Becauſe this requires not only a juſt and extended Diſcernment

* Vol. I. p. 15. † Machiavel's Diſc. B. i. c. 18.

SECT. II. of Men and Things as they exiſt, but as they unite, act, or are acted on, as Cauſes and Effects. It muſt likewiſe be the Reſult of a ſevere Impartiality, which can ſtand aloof, ſuperior to all Connexions; a Quality ſeldom found, and never approved, but by the Impartial. To the firſt of theſe Qualities, *Dulneſs* or *Refinements* are as dangerous Enemies, as *Attachments* or *Reſentments* to the laſt.

"IN ſome Reſpects, perhaps, there is "no Time nor Country delivered down to "us in Story, in which a wiſe Man would "ſo much wiſh to have lived, as in our "own *." It hath been aſked, in what Reſpects? Let us do Juſtice to our Age and Country in every Regard. A political Conſtitution, ſuperior to all that Hiſtory hath recorded, or preſent Times can boaſt: A religious Eſtabliſhment, which breathes univerſal Charity and Toleration: A

* See Vol. I. p. 15.

Separation

Separation from the Continent, that naturally ſecures us from the Calamities of Invaſion, and the Temptations to Conqueſt *: A Climate, fertile in the ſubſtantial Comforts of Life: A Spirit of Liberty, yet unconquered: A general Humanity and Sincerity beyond any Nation upon Earth: An Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that hath even ſileneed Envy. Theſe are Bleſſings which every *Engliſhman* feels, and ought to acknowledge. Search thro' all

SECT. II.

* MACHIAVEL, ſpeaking on the Stability of a Commonwealth, reaſons in the following Manner. "I ſhould think, therefore, a Commonwealth that "would ſtand long, ſhould ſeat itſelf in ſo ſtrong "and inexpugnable a Place, that it might not appre-"hend any ſudden Inſult; nor make itſelf ſo great "as to become formidable to its Neighbours. For "the common Motives that excite People to "make War upon a Commonwealth, are two; "either to *conquer* it themſelves, or to *ſecure them-"ſelves* againſt it: And by the aforeſaid Expedient, "both theſe Motives are prevented †." This Reaſoning he applies to SPARTA and VENICE: I need not point out to the Reader, how much more applicable it is to BRITAIN.

† Diſc. Pol. l. i. c. 6.

SECT. II.

the moſt admired Periods of the moſt admired Countries, the moſt flouriſhing Æra's of *Greece*, *Italy*, or *France*; and tell me, if in any of theſe, ſuch an *Union* can be found? A Volume might be written in Proof and Diſplay of this Superiority.

"NOTWITHSTANDING this, our Situa-
"tion ſeems moſt dangerous: We are roll-
"ing to the Brink of a Precipice that muſt
"deſtroy us *." Becauſe, in the Writer's Opinion, the Manners and Principles that are taking Root among us, will ſoon poiſon theſe generous Plants, and in the End deſtroy them.

"AT ſuch a Juncture, to hold up a true
"Mirroir to the Public, and let the Na-
"tion ſee *themſelves*, as the Authors of
"their own Misfortunes, cannot be a very
"popular Deſign †." This is *improperly*, becauſe *too generally* expreſſed: 'Tis the

* Vol. I. p. 15. † Ibid.

leading

leading Part of the Nation chiefly, if not only, that the Writer eſteems accountable for the Miſeries that threaten us: As appears by the general Tenor of his Work. SECT. II.

"WHY then, (it hath been aſked) "ſhould a Man in private Life ſtand forth "to offend the *Great?*" Indeed, he means not to *give* Offence; but if it *will* be *taken*, he cannot help it.

SCHEMES of Reformation, 'tis true, are generally regarded as chimerical: And an agreeable Writer, who knew the World, tells us, that "Quarrels with the Age, and "Pretences of reforming it, end com-"monly like the Pains of a Man in a "little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that "is faſt to a Ship. It looks as if he meant "to draw the Ship to him; but the Truth "is, he draws himſelf to the Ship, where "he gets in, and does like the reſt of the "Crew*." On this pretty Alluſion, I

* Sir *William Temple.*

SECT. II.

have only to remark, that had the State of the *Fact* alluded to been more *philoſophical*, the *political* Application had been more *juſt*. For as in reality the Man in the little Boat, while he is drawn towards the *Ship*, draws the Ship towards *him* in a certain Degree; ſo the Cenſor of Manners, though himſelf may be drawn towards the ruling Manners of the Times, yet if he cenſures juſtly, need not deſpair of drawing the vaſt political Machine towards his philoſophic Barque, in Proportion to it's *Weight*, however inconſiderable. In plain Terms: Though it were Folly to expect, that any Work of this Kind can effect a general Reformation (a Thing which the Author was never ſo ignorant as to dream of) yet it wants not it's real Uſe. It tends to preſerve the honeſt Impreſſions yet left among us; to keep up the Combat againſt thoſe Vices, Follies, Corruptions, Profligacies, which, if not oppoſed, would ſoon overwhelm us:

us: And if the Flame ſhould chance to ſtrike upon a few great and generous Minds, may poſſibly conſpire to rouſe a Spirit of public Virtue in this degenerate Kingdom, where it is now weakened or extinct. SECT. II.

SECT. III.

Farther Remarks on the Spirit of Liberty.

AMONG the remaining Virtues yet left us, the Spirit of *Liberty* was placed as the main Foundation. A Queſtion naturally riſeth here, to which the too general Expreſſion of the firſt Volume affords no Solution: "Is the Spirit of *Liberty* conſiſtent with an eſtabliſhed *Effeminacy*, "and Want of *Principle*? If not, then "how can it be affirmed, that this Spirit of "*Liberty* can ſubſiſt among a People, "whoſe ruling Character is that of *effemi-* "*nate Manners*, and Defect of *Princi-* "*ple*?" SECT. III.

SECT. III.

IT ſeems to me then, that the Spirit of *Liberty* is indeed totally inconſiſtent with an eſtabliſhed *Effeminacy* and Want of *Principle:* Inaſmuch as theſe two Cauſes, above every other, tend to debaſe the Mind, and fit it for Subjection. With Regard, therefore, to the latter Part of the Queſtion, the Truth is, that the Spirit of Liberty ſubſiſts yet among the *middle*, and ſome of the *lower* Ranks; but is much weakened, and in many Inſtances extinguiſhed, among the *higher*. The Reaſon, I apprehend, why this Virtue abounds more in middle, than in high Life, is, that the firſt is not yet effectually tainted by the ruling Manners and Principles of the Times. This Diſtinction accounts for a Fact, which at firſt View may ſeem a Contradiction; that the Spirit of Liberty and Effeminacy may ſubſiſt together: They do indeed ſubſiſt together in the *ſame Nation*, but not in the *ſame Ranks*.

" WHEREAS the Spirit of Liberty hath SECT.
" been ingrafted by the Arts of Policy in III.
" other Countries, it ſhoots up here, as
" from its natural Climate, Stock, and
" Soil *." It may not, perhaps, ſufficiently gratify the Self-eſteem of a true *Engliſhman*, to be told, that the Root of this fair Plant is no other than a certain Impatience of Controul, ariſing from a Spirit of Chagrin; which hath, for it's original Cauſe, the Soil, Food, Winds, and Climate. This, indeed, hath long been my Opinion; and it gave me Pleaſure, to find it confirmed by that of Baron MONTESQUIEU; who hath indirectly, at leaſt, affirmed it †. I will add a further Obſervation; which is, that as this Spirit of Chagrin, and ſplenetic Turn of Mind, ſeems the original Cauſe of *our* Spirit of Liberty; ſo the gay, chearful, and contented Turn of the

* Vol. I. p. 19. † L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xiv. c. 13.

French,

SECT. III.

French, is certainly one ruling Cauſe of their Slavery. The Truth is, they are happy under it; and therefore no Deſire of changing their Condition ever ariſeth in their Hearts: For it is Uneaſineſs alone, that prompts to change. Shift the Inhabitants of each Kingdom into the other's Place, and, in another Generation, the Poſterity of the *Slaves* would become *Freemen*; and thoſe of the *Freemen*, *Slaves*.

WHICH of the two Nations are happier in their reſpective States, no impartial Man will be bold to pronounce, as he cannot have Trial of the internal Feelings of other Men. But what a Writer of fine Senſe hath ſaid, may ſurely be applied here; who, ſpeaking of the Condition of the *French*, ſays, "I do not call it miſerable "(the Term uſually given it) becauſe no "Condition is ſo, but to him that eſteems "it ſo: And if a *Paiſan* of *France* "thinks of no more than his coarſe Bread "and his Onions, his Canvas Cloaths and

"wooden

" wooden Shoes; labours contentedly on SECT.
" Working-Days, and dances or plays III.
" merrily on Holidays; he may, for ought
" I know, live as well as a Boor of *Hol-*
" *land*, who is either weary of his very
" Eaſe, or whoſe Cares of growing ſtill
" richer and richer, waſte his Life in Toils
" at Land, or Dangers at Sea; and per-
" haps fool him ſo far, as to make him en-
" joy leſs of all Kind in his Riches, than
" t'other in his Poverty *."

BUT though abſolute Rule be compatible with the Happineſs of the *French*; I apprehend, that Liberty is the firſt neceſſary Ingredient in the Compoſition of *Engliſh* Happineſs. As our Temper, reſulting from our Food and Climate, naturally urgeth us to the Purſuit of Freedom; ſo, were we deprived of it, our Senſibility of Servitude muſt be extreme.

* Sir *William Temple*, vol. I. p. 92.

FAR-

SECT. III.

FARTHER: The fine Writer juſt now cited, affirms that "the *Engliſh* do well to "be watchful of their *Liberty*; for if ever "they are inſlaved, they will be the com-"pleateſt *Slaves* upon Earth*." He hath not given the Reaſons on which he founds his Affirmation: Yet the Remark, tho' it carries the Appearance of Refinement and Improbability, I believe is juſt. I would Reaſon thus upon it. The ſame ruling Cauſes which produce that Gayety and Contentment of Heart, which give Birth to Servitude in *France*, and make the People eaſy under it—the ſame ruling Cauſes do naturally produce a gentle Uſe of Power in thoſe who rule. On the contrary, if that *Engliſh* Liberty ſhould be loſt, which is the Reſult of a local Spleen, and that local Spleen ſhould continue in it's Strength, who ſees not, that the Exerciſe of unlimited Power in ſuch a Cli-

* L'Eſprit des Loix.

mate,

mate, muſt be barbarous, brutal, and abandoned? SECT. III.

" The Deſtruction of Liberty (in *Eng-*
" *land)* by external Violence, will proba-
" bly be no more than temporary*." Becauſe that local Spleen which gives it Birth, will, in Caſe of an Overturn, be in perpetual Ferment, till it brings about it's Reſtoration. This Climate will for ever form the Complexion of it's Inhabitants. Degenerate *Engliſhmen*, though *free*, may be ſubdued by *Foreigners*, though *Slaves:* But the Climate will conquer in it's Turn; the Poſterity of thoſe Slaves will throw off the Yoke, and defy the ſervile Maxims of their Forefathers.

" But it is remarkable, that in Propor-
" tion as this Spirit hath grown weak in
" *Deeds*, it hath gained Strength in
" *Words*; and of late run out, into un-

* Vol. I. p. 20.

" bound-

SECT. III. "bounded Licence*." It hath grown *weak* in *Deeds*, becauſe it hath grown weak among thoſe whoſe Province it is to *act*: It hath gained *Strength* in *Words*, becauſe it is ſtrong in thoſe who have only the Privilege to *ſpeak*. It hath of late run out into unbounded Licence, through certain unhappy Cauſes which might be explained: But the Writer chuſeth rather to be ſilent, than either to ſay ſuch Things as might ſeem to aggravate the Evil, or ſuch as would be inconſiſtent with that inviolable Regard which he will ever maintain for Truth.

SECT. IV.

Remarks on the Spirit of Humanity.

SECT. IV. "The Lenity of our Laws, the many "noble Foundations, *&c:* All theſe are "ſuch indiſputable Proofs of a National "Humanity, as it were the higheſt In-

* Vol. I. p. 18.

"juſtice

" juſtice not to acknowledge and ap- SECT.
" plaud*." This Remark is not to be IV.
limited to the middle Ranks, like that upon the Spirit of Liberty. For, to do Juſtice to the higher Ranks of this Kingdom, it may be maintained, that, in Point of *Humanity*, they have not their Equals upon Earth.

IT may ſeem improbable, or perhaps incredible, that ſuch a Spirit of *Humanity* ſhould remain in thoſe Ranks among whom the Spirit of *Liberty* is weakened or extinct. Yet the Fact is indiſputable. I could point out a certain Tranſaction, which paſſed laſt Year in two great Aſſemblies, in Regard to a Marriage Settlement, which, if examined to the Bottom, would be an inconteſtable Proof of what is here advanced: In which, for the ſake of making two Individuals happy, a Step was taken, at which our more rigorous Fore-

* Vol. I. p. 21, 22.

fathers

SECT. IV.

fathers would have ſtarted, as ſubverſive of all Law, Policy, and Freedom. But I forbear.

HOWEVER, thus much in general may be affirmed without Offence, that Humanity neither *improved* nor *controuled*, is always *defective* and partial; and *may be* very *dangerous* in its Effects. When once the leading Meaſures of a Kingdom are drawn from a Regard to *Individuals*, rather than the *Public* State, it is certain, that "the Pillars of that State are ſhaken."

LET us now conſider, whence this Spirit of Humanity may ariſe, and how it comes to be continued among a People of ſuch a Complexion. One Cauſe ſeems to be the *Excellence* of our *Religion*; which although thrown off and deſpiſed by the faſhionable World in their Maturity of Age; yet having tinctured the Infant Mind, leaves it's ſalutary Effects behind it, in ſpite of every acquired ill Habit. That

the

the Mode of *Chriſtianity* eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom is at leaſt inferior to none, ſeems evident from this one Circumſtance, that "every other religious ſect eſteems and "loves it, next to their own."

SECT. IV.

THE Lenity of our *Laws* is another Preſervative of the National *Humanity*. Indeed they are drawn in great Part, from the ſame pure Fountain of Truth with our *Religion*; and therefore may well be expected, in great Part, to produce the ſame happy Effect.

BUT that Juſtice may be done in every View, it muſt not be diſguiſed, that another Cauſe, hinted but not explained in the firſt Volume, hath its Share in this amiable Production. "Humanity to Diſtreſs, we "have already marked as another Cha-"racter of the Times: But whether our "very Effeminacy be not one of its "Sources, might probably be a Queſtion "more curious in its Progreſs, than agree-

SECT. IV.

" able in its Solution *." Thus, and naturally, the Matter may be explained. Effeminacy begets Cowardice, and a Dread of enduring and ſuffering of every Kind. Minds thus conſtituted are eaſily moved by the *apparent* Sufferings of others: Hence, where oppoſite Paſſions prevail not, *Pity* is generally ſtrong in *Women*: And hence Pity, or Humanity, is the natural Growth of an *effeminate Nation*: That is, of a Nation which *reſembles Women*.

THIS farther Diſtinction is to be made: That ſo far as Humanity ariſeth from Courage tempered by pure Religion, it will be regular, extenſive, and conſiſtent: So far as it ariſeth from Effeminacy, it will be partial, irrational, and confined: Which of theſe two is the leading Character of the Humanity of our Times and Nation, I leave others to determine. By comparing it with the Humanity of the laſt Cen-

* Vol. I. p. 16.

tury,

tury, when there was more of Principle, and leſs of Effeminacy, its Character will be more evident. SECT. IV.

"THESE are concurrent Proofs, that "the Spirit of Humanity is natural to our "Nation *." This was inconſiderately affirmed. The Spirit of Liberty *is*, but but that of Humanity *is not* natural to our Nation. The Proof lies in the Hiſtory of the Country; which tells us, that in ancient Times, before *Chriſtianity* came among us, tho' the Spirit of Liberty was ſtrong, yet the ruling Character of the Nation was that of *barbarous* and *inhuman*. This may ſerve as an additional Proof, that our preſent Humanity ariſeth from the Cauſes aſſigned above.

SECT. V.

A Remark on the Inhumanity of the ITALIANS.

LET me here, for once, make an Excurſion into my more general Plan, that I SECT. V.

* Vol. I. p. 21.

SECT. V.

may bring home an Obſervation which hath a diſtant, though not an intimate Connexion with the Subject of the laſt Section.

THE ITALIANS are an effeminate People; yet in the general Opinion, void of Humanity: They are given to Cruelty, Treachery, Aſſaſſination. The Queſtion is, then, from what Cauſes this ſingular Appearance may ariſe?

IT is commonly affirmed and ſuppoſed to be *natural* to the Country. But they who talk thus, I think, mean no more (ſo far as they mean any thing) than this, that there is ſome Cauſe unknown, which produceth this Crime in ITALY, rather than elſewhere.

MACHIAVEL, who knew Mankind, aſcribes this Degeneracy in the People, to the Wickedneſs and ill Example of their Rulers. "If the People of our Times "are infamous for Theſts and Robberies,

" and plundering, and ſuch Kind of Enor- SECT. V.
" mities, it proceeds from the Exorbitance
" and Rapacity of their Governors. Ro-
" MANIA (before ALEXANDER the ſixth *ex-*
" *terminated* thoſe Lords who had the
" Command in thoſe Parts) was a
" Place of all Kind of Diſſoluteneſs
" and Iniquity: Every Day, and every
" trivial Occaſion producing notorious
" Murders and Rapines: Which was not
" ſo much from any *Depravity in the Na-*
" *ture of the People*, as ſome Perſons
" would have it, as from the Corruption
" of their Princes: For being poor of
" themſelves, and yet ambitious to live in
" Splendor and Magnificence, they were
" forced upon ill Courſes; and in-
" deed refuſed none that could ſupply
" them *." This, in ſome Meaſure, ac-
counts for the Inhumanity of the People:
But we are ſtill at a Loſs, as much as ever,

* Mach. Diſc. Pol. l. iii. c. 29.

SECT. V. how ſuch an *exterminating* Principle came firſt among the Great.

WHAT follows, then, ſeems the natural Solution of the Queſtion. When ITALY became divided into a vaſt Number of petty States, the Contentions and Factions in theſe States were endleſs. The Parties were often too ſmall to levy Armies: Hence Conſpiracies, Inſurrections, Aſſaſſinations by Sword or Poiſon, were the common, becauſe the readieſt Way of proſecuting the political Deſigns either of the Oppreſſors or the Oppreſſed *. By this Means, the dreadful Practice of Aſſaſſination, by being applied *politically*, loſt a great Part of its Horror in the Minds of the Parties who practiſed it: Thus it naturally crept into private Uſe; and hath been of Courſe tranſmitted from one Generation to another.

HENCE appears the great Importance of curbing the Violence and Horrors of *pub-*

* See *Machiavel's* Hiſtorical Tracts, paſſim.

lic

lic Contention, by what are called the Laws of War and of Nations. Since the oppoſite Conduct is not only attended with immediate Cruelties, but, what is worſe, is in Danger of ſtriking its Colours into *private* Life, and giving even to ſucceeding Times the Complexion of *Inhumanity*. SECT. V.

We muſt not leave this Subject, without adding a Remark on Machiavel himſelf; who undoubtedly writ under the Influence of this Habit of thinking ſo peculiar to *Italy*. For we ſee, in the Paſſage now cited, that altho' he ſpeaks with Reſentment againſt the private Murders ſo common in his Days, yet he mentions thoſe *political Aſſaſſinations* with a kind of Approbation, for which Alexander the ſixth and his Son Valentine, are ſo juſtly infamous thro' all *Europe*. He expreſsly treats of this Method of acquiring Government; and with all the *Sang froid* of a Man talking on a juſt and legitimate

SECT. V.

Subject *. Hence, Concluſions have been drawn much in his Diſfavour, as a Man abandoned to all Wickedneſs; while others have adopted the contrary Opinion, and affirmed, that he pointed out theſe Ways of iniquitous Policy and Aſſaſſination, that he might teach Mankind more effectually to prevent them. Now in Truth, theſe two Opinions are equally groundleſs; for on the one Hand, his Writings abound with inconteſtable Proofs, that he was a Wellwiſher to his Country and Mankind: On the other it muſt be allowed, that he hath rather ſhewn the Methods of treacherous Policy, than the Ways of preventing them. The Truth is, thoſe iniquitous Practices, which ſhock *our* Humanity, were familiarized to *his* Imagination by the common Uſage of his Country: Hence he treated them, as he did other political Maxims of better Stamp, and only talked

* See his Prince, c. viii.

the

the Language, of his Times and Nation. SECT. V.
Nay it appears from a particular Paſſage in his Works, that he vindicated this Practice of Aſſaſſination, as being in ſome Caſes a Principle of the trueſt Humanity. CÆSAR BORGIA was counted cruel, yet that "Cruelty reduced ROMAGNA, united it, "ſettled it in Peace, and rendered it "faithful; ſo that if well conſidered, he "will appear much more merciful than "the FLORENTINES, who, rather than "be thought cruel, ſuffered PISTOIA to "be deſtroyed *." Theſe no doubt, are horrid Maxims, and as could never have ariſen in the Mind of ſuch a Man as MACHIAVEL, but from the Cauſe aſſigned above. They are the more to be lamented, as they have thrown a Cloud over the Fame of one, who in my Opinion is the greateſt political Reaſoner upon Facts, that hath appeared in any Age or Country.

* Prince, c. xvii.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Remarks on the Ruling Manners of the Times.

SECT. VI. THOUGH the Writer made his beſt Efforts, in his firſt Eſſay, towards a true *Likeneſs* of the Genius of the Times; and tho' he believes he caught the ruling Features; yet the World ſhould not regard that as a complete Portrait, which, in the Painter's Language, ought only to be ſtyled the *Dead Colour*. The Public therefore is requeſted to give him a *ſecond Sitting*; that he may add thoſe particular, characteriſtic, and finiſhing Touches of Light and Shade, which eſcaped his Eye; and at the ſame Time ſmooth off ſome of thoſe *Aſperities*, which might poſſibly remain upon the Canvas, from the Rudeneſs of his *firſt* Pencil.

'TIS

'Tis again desired, it may not be forgot, SECT. VI.
" That this Estimate confines itself to such
" Consequences only, as affect the Dura-
" tion of the public State: So that the
" leading Question is, How far the present
" ruling Manners and Principles of this
" Nation may tend to its Continuance or
" Destruction *." This is the more ne-
cessary to be repeated, because eight Rea-
ders out of ten, it is believed, forget it,
before they had turned the next Leaf.

" In Consequence of this Restriction,
" the Manners and Principles of the com-
" mon People will scarce find a Place in
" the Account †." If the Manners and
Principles of a common People are des-
perately corrupt, they may hasten the Dis-
solution of a State. But although they
be good, they cannot preserve it, if those
of the leading ranks be depraved.

* Vol. I. p. 24. † Ibid.

" How

SECT. VI.

" How far we may be from the laſt " Period of *Degeneracy*, it were Preſumption to affirm: At preſent, it is certain, " we are not arrived at it. Whenever this " fatal Time approaches, it will come " diſtinguiſhed by its proper and peculiar " Characters *." This, and the following Part of the Paragraph, will beſt be commented on by a Quotation from MACHIAVEL, deſcribing the profligate Period of declining ROME: " Commotions, Diſcord, Sedition, Aſſaſſinations, in Peace; " cruelty in War; Princes murthered; " *Italy* afflicted; its Cities deſtroy'd; *Rome* " burnt; the *Capital* by it's own Inhabitants demoliſhed; the ancient Temples " deſolate; religious Ceremonies prophaned; the City full of Adulteries; the " Sea covered with Exiles, the Rocks with " Blood; infinite Cruelties committed " daily in the City; Nobility, Riches, Ho-

* Vol. I. p. 28.

" nour

" nour, and *eſpecially* VIRTUE, grown to SECT.
" be capital Offences: Informers and VI.
" Calumniators rewarded; Servants inſti-
" gated againſt their Maſters; Children
" againſt their Parents; and thoſe few
" who were ſo unhappy as to have no
" Enemies, deſtroyed by their Friends*."

THAT the true Character of the Manners of our Age and Country is that of " a vain luxurious, and ſelfiſh Effemi-" nacy," the Writer affirms will appear from a ſimple Enumeration of acknowledged Facts, " many of them indeed, " in Appearance, too *trite* to merit No-" tice, and too *trifling* for Rebuke; were " they not, in their Tendency, as fatal to " the Stability of a Nation, as Maxims " and Manners more apparently flagi-" tious †." On this, he underſtands, a Sort of Objection hath been raiſed, that a Work founded on Facts ſo *trite* and *trifling*,

* Diſc. Pol. l. i. c. 10. † p. 29.

SECT. VI. must be as *trite* and *trifling* as the *Facts* it is built on.

Now with Regard to his own Work, he is willing to allow the Objection to hold good, as far as any particular Reader chuſeth to think it ought. But with Regard to the Truth of the general Objection, he apprehends it will not hold good, for the following Reaſons,

1. BECAUSE all Reaſonings on every Subject, ought to be founded on *evident* Facts; and the more evident the Facts are, the more certain and concluſive the Reaſoning will be. Now an *evident* Fact is, in this Regard, the ſame as a *trite* one, before it can properly be apply'd in the Way of Argument: That is, it muſt offer itſelf clearly and inconteſtably to the Obſervation of the Writer and the Reader; whether it be drawn from ancient *Books* or modern *Practice*.

2. A

SECT. VI.

2. A SELECTION of *leading* Facts once made, may appear more obvious in itſelf than it really is. When you ſee Flowers or Shells well diſpoſed in a Variety of *Feſtons*, the Work may ſeem eaſy and obvious; and the more natural and pleaſing the Diſpoſition is, the more obvious it may ſeem: Yet may it have required a more delicate and inventive Fancy than is ſuſpected, to have made this proper Selection, from that confuſed Maſs of Forms and Colours which Nature offers to the Eye. To ſpeak without a Figure; there are in modern Manners many Appearances wholly contradictory and diſſimilar: The Age hath been branded in general Terms, as *ignorant* and *profligate*; it hath been applauded, as *knowing* and *virtuous*. Praiſe and Cenſure have been promiſcuouſly and blindly thrown out: But it is another Thing, to mark the peculiar and predominant Virtues and Vices, and give to each,

SECT. VI.

each, that Weight and Influence which it hath in Nature. On theſe Diſtinctions, indeed, the very Eſſence of ſuch a Work muſt depend: A Failure in theſe neceſſary Diſtinctions would be a Defect in the firſt Conception; and, like a falſe Outline in a Deſign, draw after it a Multitude of Errors: For, as a delicate Writer hath obſerved, "l'Allure principale entraine "avec elle tous les Accidens particu-"liers*."

3. THE more *trite* and *trifling* the Facts may ſeem, the more their Conſequences are likely to eſcape Notice: For Attention is naturally fixed only on things of manifeſt Importance: Now if indeed, notwithſtanding this, "they be in their Ten-"dency as fatal to the Stability of a Na-"tion, as Maxims and Manners *more ap-"parently* ſtagitious;" then, it may be not only a Taſk of ſome Importance, but

* Grandeur des Romains, c. 18.

of

of ſome Delicacy too, to trace them to their Conſequences and Sources, to point out their mutual Influence as Cauſe and Effect; and, in the very Plainneſs and Simplicity of Reaſoning, "ſearch out (as a "good old-faſhioned Writer ſomewhere "hath it) the Verities leſs expoſed to "View, and make them ſo familiar, that "they who perceived them not before, "may come as it were to touch them." SECT. VI.

SECT. VII.

On the preſent ruling Motives to Marriage, and their Effects on Manners and Principles.

THE Writer obſerved, "that as the "firſt Habits of Infancy and Youth com- "monly determine the Character of the "Man, we might trace the Effeminacy "of modern Manners, even to the un- "wholeſome Warmth of a Nurſery*." SECT. VII.

* Vol. I. p. 29.

SECT. VI.

This, though ſeemingly a good Aim, was falling ſhort of the Mark: Modern Manners, and Principles too, are not a little ſway'd by the preſent *ſordid* and *prevailing* Motives to *Marriage*.

WHERE Virtue, Senſe, Beauty, Birth, an Union of amiable Qualities, are the Motives that determine to Marriage; there, domeſtic Love and Happineſs are the natural Concomitants. Hence a tender and generous Concern for the real Welfare, the Manners and Principles of the Offſpring, naturally riſeth and prevails in the Parents. Thoſe Qualities which they ſee and love in each other, they naturally endeavour to tranſplant into their Poſterity.

Now modern Matrimony, in high Life, (and the ſame wretched Spirit is creeping into the middle Ranks) is the Reverſe of all this. Neither Virtue, Senſe, Beauty,

Beauty, Birth, or the faireſt Union of amiable Qualities, generally determine the Choice of either Sex. Inſtead of theſe, the moſt ſordid Views of Wealth, or powerfull Alliance; a total Diſregard to the Perſon choſen; a total Diſregard to the domeſtic Comforts of Life; the moſt deſpicable Motives of Avarice, external Shew, Diſſipation, or Profligacy; theſe do now moſt commonly prevail. Hence naturally ariſe Indifference or Averſion between the Parties. SECT. VII.

In Conſequence of this Spirit, and *other Practices* which follow it, Separations and Divorces are now more frequent than ever. In the Year ſeventeen hundred and fifty-ſeven, when theſe Tracts were written, there were at one Time ſeventeen Divorces depending in one Court of Judicature in this Kingdom: A Circumſtance of Infamy, unparallel'd in *Engliſh* Story.

SECT. VII.

THESE fatal Circumſtances conſpire to blaſt our riſing Spring. In Families thus diſpoſed, what can we expect, but that the *Education* of the Children muſt be *neglected*, or, what is worſe, *perverted?*

BESIDES, where neither Mind nor Perſon are the Objects of mutual Choice, but the vile Conſideration of Wealth the leading Motive; there, diſtempered Bodies, and diſtempered Minds (being frequently the Inheritors of Wealth) muſt of courſe be received, and tranſmitted to Poſterity.

ANOTHER neceſſary Conſequence of this low and ſelfiſh Principle of Marriage, is the *keeping* of Women, and the Increaſe of *illegitimate* Children. For where the ſordid Views of Avarice determine to Marriage, when thoſe Views cannot be gratified, a cheaper Way of Gratification than that of Marriage will take Place.

Now, who ſees not, that this growing Practice is a dreadful Drawback upon Manners and Principles? I mean not to affirm, that illegitimate Children are never virtuouſly brought up: But he muſt be bold indeed, who dares aſſert, that the Practice of *keeping* Women leads not, in general, to a *diſſolute Education* of the Offſpring. SECT. VII.

HERE then we ſee how fatally this ſordid Motive to Marriage affects the *riſing* Generation, and therefore the Duration of the State. *When* and *whence* this low Principle had its Riſe, is a Conſideration which properly belongs to the third Part of this Work: But, after what hath been advanced, the original Cauſe ſo naturally offers itſelf to the Mind, that I need hardly affirm it to have been, "the exorbitant "Increaſe of Trade and Wealth." In *Scotland*, *France*, *Germany*, where the Exceſs of Trade and Wealth hath not yet

SECT. VII.

corrupted Manners, and honeſt Poverty is not yet diſgraceful, the ſordid Views of Gain ſeldom determine the Choice of either Sex to Marriage. This might ſtand as a ſufficient Proof of the Cauſe here aſſigned: But it will appear ſtill more evident, if we can fix the Time of this Principle riſing among us, and ſhew it to be cotemporary with the *exorbitant* Increaſe of *Trade* and *Wealth*. And this, it happens, we are able to do, upon the Authority of a good Writer, who at the ſame Time that he affirms the *Fact*, ſeems to have had no Suſpicion of the *Cauſe*. "Our Marriages are made, juſt like other "common Bargains and Sales, by the "mere Conſideration of Intereſt or Gain, "without any of Love or Eſteem, of "Birth or of Beauty itſelf, which ought "to be the true Ingredients of all happy "Compoſitions in this Kind, and of all "generous Productions. Yet this Cuſtom "is of *no ancient Date* in *England*; and I "think

" think I remember, within *leſs than fifty* SECT.
" *Years*, the firſt noble Families that VII.
" married into the City for downright
" Money, and thereby introduced by De-
" grees this public Grievance, which has
" ſince ruined ſo many Eſtates by the Ne-
" ceſſity of giving great Portions to
" Daughters; impaired many Families
" by the weak or mean Productions of
" Marriages, made without any of that
" Warmth and Spirit that is given them
" by Force of Inclination and perſonal
" Choice; and extinguiſhed many great
" ones by the Averſion of the Perſons
" who ſhould have continued them *."

HERE, we ſee, the Date of the Fact is ſettled by clear Evidence: The Riſe of this Principle, then, was coincident with the Time when our Trade and Wealth grew *exorbitant*; and may juſtly be ranked among their earlieſt *apparent Effects*.

* Sir *William Temple*, Vol. I. p. 268.

SECT. VIII.

Of another Source of improper Education of Youth.

SECT. VIII.

THE Subſtance of the following juſt and ſenſible Remark was ſent to the Author from an unknown Hand.

THERE is a Miſtake in the Diſpoſal of Youth, which generally prevails, and is of pernicious Conſequence to the Public. Their Genius is conſulted *too little*, or their Inclination *too much*, in the Choice of a Profeſſion. Their Genius is conſulted *too little*, when it is determined perhaps from their Birth, what ſhall be their Profeſſion, without any Regard had to their future Talents or Diſpoſition. Their Inclination is conſulted *too much*, when they are allowed to make a Choice for themſelves, while their unformed Opinions are ſwayed by the firſt glaring Object that catches

catches their Imagination. If the Boy is in the Neighbourhood of ſome *Clergyman*, who lives with Hoſpitality and Reputation, the *Miniſtry* appears to him moſt *deſirable*. If he hath had frequent Opportunities of ſeeing the Finery, Power, and Parade of *Officers* in their *Quarters*, nothing perhaps appears more charming than the *military Life*. If an *eminent Lawyer* lives within his Obſervation, the *Law* will ſeem the ready Road to Wealth and Honour. The fond Parent looks on theſe as happy Omens of Succeſs: Hence the Child is indulged in an inconſiderate Choice, without any Warning given of the *Duties* and *Difficulties* that attend every Profeſſion. When, therefore, he is poſſeſſed of his haſty Wiſh, and finds himſelf among *Thorns*, where he expected *Roſes*, he grows at once diſſatisfied, negligent, and *uſeleſs*. Thus are Numbers miſplaced in the World; and, by this wrong Poſition, are rendered obſcure or hurtful, when

SECT. VIII. when they might have ſhone and been beneficial to the Public, if fixed in their proper Sphere. Many a daſtardly Officer might have exerted himſelf with Spirit at the Bar: Many a baſhful Lawyer might have appeared with Credit in the Pulpit: Many a bold-ſwaggering Churchman might have been a brave Admiral or General: And many an induſtrious Alderman is buried in a Country Curacy.

SECT. IX.

Farther Remarks on the Univerſities.

SECT. IX. Is it not ſomewhat ſtrange, that the *higher* a young Man's Rank is in our *Univerſities*, and the more important thoſe Stations are, to which, by that higher Rank, he is ordained; the more he is at Liberty to take his full Range in the fertile Fields of *Idleneſs* and *Inclination?* Yet this hath long been the State of our Univerſities; and hath had its Riſe, partly from the

the miſtaken Fondneſs and Vanity of Parents in high Life, who muſt needs have their Sons diſtinguiſhed by the Article of *Expence*, even in a *College*; and partly from the Temptations of *Gain* and *Credit* in the *Governors* and *Tutors* of the ſeveral Colleges, who thus make their Court to idle Sons and weak Mothers, in Proportion as they ſuffer their wealthy Pupils to live, and return, laden with *Ignorance* and *Vice*. However, it were not Juſtice (to ſome Colleges, at leaſt, in one of our Univerſities) not to aſſure the Public, that this fatal Practice is wearing off; and a *rational Subjection* to College Rules expected and required from thoſe of the higheſt Rank and Station. SECT. IX.

THE Writer is informed, that much Exception hath been made to what he affirmed concerning the Univerſity *Profeſſorſhips*, and the Poſſibility of their being rendered uſeful to the Public. What follows,

SECT. IX.

lows, is a Summary of his Sentiments on that Subject.

IT was never meant to be affirmed, that the *public Lectures* of Profeſſors ſhould be the only Means of Inſtruction in the academic Education. This Practice is well known to be very inſufficient, in all *foreign* Univerſities where it takes Place. On the other Hand, neither can the private Lectures of College Tutors be of ſufficient Power, for the Reaſons aſſigned in the firſt Volume.* A Union of theſe, therefore, ſeems to be the true and effectual Syſtem. *College Tutors* ſhould *inſtruct* their Pupils; but *College Tutors* themſelves ought to be *overſeen*, and perhaps *inſtructed*, by the *Profeſſors* in their ſeveral Departments; who ought to be Men of ſingular Capacity and Eminence, appointed for this great Purpoſe. The Univerſities, in this important Circumſtance, would do well to conſider the State of the great Schools. What a Maim

† P. 32, 33.

would

would thoſe of ETON and WESTMINSTER receive, ſhould the Head Maſters deſert the Duties of their Station, and leave their Boys to the blind Direction of every pert *Aſſiſtant?* The *Heads* of Colleges, indeed, might ſtand here in the Place of the *Profeſſors*, or at leaſt aid them in this important Taſk: And it were much to be wiſhed, that, inſtead of a perpetual Attention to Cards, Tea, ſumptuous Entertainments, and Parties of Pleaſure, theſe Gentlemen would now and then recollect what was the *original Purpoſe* of College Government. SECT. IX.

NOTHING of perſonal Invective is here intended. The Evil is ſo general, that it manifeſtly lies in the Manners of the Times, not in thoſe of Individuals. But this Circumſtance makes the Evil ſo much the heavier, and therefore the rather to be noted, as it tends to prevent all Remedy.

ONE

SECT. IX. ONE Remark more ſhall cloſe my Strictures on this Subject.

TO *think* juſtly, to *write* well, to *ſpeak* agreeably, are the three great Ends of academic Inſtruction. The Univerſities will excuſe me, if I obſerve, that *both* are, in one reſpect or other, defective in theſe three capital Points of Education. While in CAMBRIDGE the general Application is turned altogether on *ſpeculative* Knowledge, with little Regard to *polite* Letters, *Taſte*, or *Style*: in OXFORD, the whole Attention is directed towards claſſical *Correctneſs*, without any ſound Foundation laid in ſevere *Reaſoning* and *Philoſophy*: In CAMBRIDGE and in OXFORD, the Art of *ſpeaking* agreeably is ſo far from being taught, that it is hardly talked or thought of. Theſe Defects naturally produce dry unaffecting Compoſitions in the *one*; ſuperficial Taſte and puerile Elegance in the *other*;

other; ungracious or affected ſpeech in *both*. SECT. IX.

SECT. X.

An additional Remark on modern Travelling.

TO what was obſerved on this Subject, in the firſt Volume, this farther Remark muſt be added. SECT. X.

THERE is not, perhaps, a more important political Principle than this, "That "the ruling Habits of young Men, both "in Thought and Action, ſhould be "thrown as much as poſſible into one "Channel in every Kingdom, and form-"ed ſuitable to the Laws, the Cuſtoms, "the Climate, the *Genius*, of their own "*Country*." I have much to ſay upon this Subject, on a future Occaſion: At preſent I ſhall only obſerve, that the pernicious Practice of early Travelling, ſo much in Vogue at preſent, ſtands in direct

SECT. X.

direct Oppoſition to this ſalutary Principle. The Genius of *our* Country, above all others, is particularly diſtinguiſhed from that of its Neighbour Nations. To this therefore the Taſte and Habits of our riſing Youth ought to be ſeverely and unalterably formed, before they be permitted to wander abroad in ignorant Wonder and Curioſity, in thoſe Countries where they imbibe Maxims, political, moral, and religious, eſſentially oppoſite to thoſe which are the main Foundations of the Stability of our public State. Thus fraught with miſchievous, inſtead of wholeſome Prejudices, our young *Men of Quality* return, at once the Contemners and the Contempt of their own wiſer Countrymen.

CERTAINLY, the Legiſlature could not take a more effectual Step towards reſtoring Manners and Principles, than by ſuppreſſing this moſt pernicious Practice of *early Travel*.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

Farther Obſervations on the Manners of the Times.

THE Writer, ſpeaking of the Ridicule of modern Dreſs, obſerved, that "yet in "this, muſt every Man of every Rank "and Age employ his Mornings, who "pretends to keep *good Company**." The vulgar Reader, after this Obſervation made, may probably be at a Loſs to know what is meant by "*Good Company.*" Obſerve, how we have imported the Idea from *France:* "Les Gens qu'on dit être de "*bonne Compagnie*, ne ſont ſouvent que "ceux, dont le *vice* eſt *plus rafiné* ‡."

SECT. XI.

"THUS we ſee Gaming eſtabliſhed on "the two great Pillars of Self-Intereſt and "Pleaſure: and on theſe Foundations "ſeems to reſt the Midnight Riot and

* Vol. I. p. 35. ‡ Lettres Perſanes.

SECT. XI.

"Diſſipation of modern Aſſemblies *." This falſe Taſte of Intereſt and Pleaſure hath produced a great Evil, which is now becoming general. Every Man of Fortune hath now a ſplendid Houſe in Town, where his Forefathers were contented with a temporary Lodging. Here he paſſeth, at leaſt, half the Year: By which means, the ancient and generous *Hoſpitality* of the Country is neglected, and *derided*; and a Kind of *poliſhed Selfiſhneſs* takes Place. The honeſt Peaſant is *racked* to the laſt Exceſs; and not only ſo, but the Villages are immediately drained of their natural Wealth, which is tranſported to the grand Scene of *Diſſipation*; and with Difficulty finds its Way back again, eſpecially to the remoter Provinces.

IT may be objected, perhaps, that the old *Hoſpitality* was not leſs *expenſive* than modern *Town-Entertainments*. But ſup-

* Vol. I. p. 40.

poſing

poſing this true, there were two Conſe- SECT.
quences good and ſalutary. Firſt, the XI.
Money was moſtly expended for the uſeful Produce of our own Country: Whereas the modern Entertainments generally conſiſt of ſuch *exotic Articles*, as no *Engliſhman* of *middle* Rank ever heard of. Secondly, while the old Taſte continued, the *great* People of courſe mixed with their *Neighbours* in the Country: This generous Communication naturally created or improved in them a Spirit of Benevolence towards their Countrymen, though their Inferiors. Hence, when they came to Town on the Buſineſs of the Public, they naturally brought along with them a Regard to the real Intereſts of their Friends and Neighbours, whoſe good or ſocial Qualities they knew and loved. Now, the preſent prevailing Syſtem of Town-Effeminacy leads to the Reverſe of all this. The Country Seats are depopulated; their Owners are eſtranged from thoſe, with

SECT. XI.

whom the true Intereſt of their Country requires them to have the cloſeſt Connexions. A total Forgetfulneſs of their provincial Duty takes Place: Vain and Effeminate Diſſipation is the End; Money, rapaciouſly ſought after, is the Means; no matter whence, at whoſe Expence, or on what Conditions it comes; whether from the *Farmer's Purſe*, or the KING's *Exchequer*.

" A KNOWLEDGE of Books, a Taſte in " Arts, a Proficiency in Science, was " formerly regarded as a proper Qualifi- " cation in a Man of Faſhion, *&c.**" Yet even this Taſte and Proficiency itſelf ought to be controuled and regulated: It ought to be conſidered as a *ſecondary* and *ſubordinate* Qualification, ſubject to the higher Views of *Religion*, *Morals*, and *civil Policy*. Otherwiſe, even the *trueſt Taſte* commonly degenerates, and

* Vol. I. p. 41.

forms

forms a Character of illiberal *Conceit* and *Affectation*; drawing down the Mind from higher Purſuits, no leſs than Effeminacy itſelf: Perhaps, thus circumſtanced, it may even be ſtyled a *Species of Effeminacy*. In Proof of this Remark we need only obſerve, that the beſt Proficients in *Poetry*, *Painting*, *Muſic*, *Literature*, when they are *merely ſuch*, whether their Converſation lies among *Books* or in the *World*, equally form uſeleſs and ridiculous Characters; the Difference conſiſts but in a few *Externals*, between the *trim literary Fop*, and the *ſullen literary Pedant*. SECT. XI.

" A GENERAL Haſh of theſe, ſerved " up in ſome monthly Meſs of Dulneſs, " is the meagre literary Diet of Town and " Country *." This relates to two notorious Gangs of *monthly* and *critical* Book-Thieves, hackney'd in the Ways of

* Vol. I. p. 43.

SECT. XI.

Wickedneſs, who, in the Rage of Hunger and Malice, firſt *plunder*, and then *abuſe*, *maim*, or *murder*, every honeſt Author who is poſſeſſed of ought worth their *carrying off*; yet by ſkulking among other Vermin in *Cellars* and *Garrets*, keep their Perſons tolerably out of Sight, and thus *eſcape* the Hands of *literary Juſtice*.

"OUR Operas are diſgraced with the "loweſt Inſipidity of Compoſition, and "unmeaning Sing-Song *." This is a Subject, as much talked of, and as little underſtood, as the deepeſt Myſteries of State. At another Time the Writer will ſpeak at large on this Matter: At preſent, the full Diſcuſſion of it would break the Texture of his main Deſign. He therefore contents himſelf with referring the Reader to an *Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion* †, as the moſt rational Thing he hath met with on this Subject. He may truly ſay,

* Vol. I. p. 46. † By Mr. *Aviſon*.

with

with his favourite Author, "Ces Matieres "demanderoient d'être traitées avec plus "d'etendue: mais la Nature de cet Ou- "vrage ne le permet pas. Je voudrois "couler ſur une Riviere tranquille; je "ſuis entrainé par un Torrent *."

SECT. XI.

One Remark however, on the Subject of Muſic, he deſires to be indulged in, becauſe it tends directly to mark the Character of the Times. The *Harpſichord*, an Inſtrument of Power and Compaſs, is now going out of Uſe: The *Guitar*, a trifling Inſtrument in itſelf, and generally now taught in the moſt ignorant and trifling Manner, is adopted in its Place: While the *Theorbo* and *Lute*, the nobleſt, becauſe the moſt expreſſive and pathetic of all Accompaniments, are altogether laid aſide. What is the Reaſon of this? Becauſe the Guitar is a *Plaything* for a *Child*; the

* L'Eſpirit des Loix.

SECT. XI. Harpſichord and Lute require *Application*,

"THE manly Exerciſe of *riding* is ge-
"nerally diſuſed, as too coarſe and inde-
"licate for the fine Gentleman *." This hath been cavilled at, as being falſe in Fact; the Writer therefore explains himſelf. He affirms then, (and appeals—to the *Obſervation*, ſhall he ſay, or to the *Practice*, of all his *polite* Countrymen?) that it is diſuſed, as an Exerciſe that can give Strength and Vigour. The *Riding*, now in Vogue, extends little farther than to a Morning Saunter in *Hyde-Park*; where People of Faſhion, like puny and *ſtarved Exotics*, take the Advantage of a *South-Wall*, to ſhelter themſelves from the wholeſome Rigours of the Winter Air; to rekindle the diſſipated and extinguiſhed Warmth of Nature, and draw new Life from the Powers of a reflected Sun-beam.

* Vol. I. p. 49.

Here,

Here, it is remarkable, that the Sexes have changed Characters: The Men capering about, on *Hobbys* of thirteen Hands; while the Women are galloping full Speed, on ſized and *firey Hunters.* SECT. XI.

"IT may probably be aſked, why the "ruling Manners of our Women have "not been particularly delineated? The "Reaſon is, becauſe they are eſſentially "the ſame with thoſe of the Men, and are "therefore included in this *Eſtimate**." Beſides this, there is another Reaſon. The Manners of Women depend on thoſe of the Men: They will always be ſuch, as the Men chuſe to make them.

"THE Sexes have now little other ap-"parent Diſtinction, beyond that of Per-"ſon and Dreſs; their peculiar and cha-"racteriſtic Manners are confounded and "loſt: The one Sex having advanced in-

* Vol. I. p. 51.

SECT. XI. "to Boldneſs, as the other have ſunk into "Effeminacy*." The Fact noted in the Concluſion of the laſt Paragraph but one, may ſtand, among twenty others, for a glaring Proof of this.

BUT here, a Difficulty may ſeem to ariſe: For if the Manners of Women be always ſuch as the Men chuſe to make them, whence comes it, that ſuch a Syſtem of Manners is now taking Place among our Women, as is deſpiſed or deteſted by all Men?

Now the Solution of this Difficulty lies in the modern Manners of the Men themſelves. In Times when Courage, Generoſity, Senſe, Senſibility, and other kindred Qualities, form the ruling Character of the Men, a ſincere and honourable Regard to the fair Sex naturally prevails: Hence in ſuch Times, Modeſty, Gentleneſs, and

* Vol. I. p. 51.

amiable

amiable Demeanour, form the Character of the Women. But when, as at preſent, the ruling Character of the Men is Effeminacy, Selfiſhneſs, Folly, Inſenſibility, and other kindred Qualities; there, all ſincere and honourable Regard for the fair Sex is of courſe extinguiſhed: The Conſequence riſeth of itſelf. The Women, finding themſelves neglected by the Men, chuſe that Syſtem of Manners, which is moſt agreeable to their own Views and Paſſions. SECT. XI.

But ſtill it may be aſked, why do they fix in a Syſtem of Manners, which Mankind naturally abhor? This too, with the good Leave of my fair Country-Women, I muſt (in Quality of *Cenſor*) be ſo unpolite as to explain. It is a well known Maxim, that Neceſſity hath no Law. Hence that *Male-Inſenſibility*, which *Modeſty* cannot *attract*, *Impudence* (if it can) muſt allure or take by *Violence*. Thus you

SECT. XI. you ſee, how naturally the FRIBBLES and the DAFFODILS have produced the MESSALINA's of our Time.

ALAS! how different is this applauded State, from that antiquated Praiſe of BRITAIN, "when her *Daughters* were *chaſte*, "and her *Sons valiant*!"

BLUSH, *if ye can*, my degenerate Contemporaries!

SECT. XII.

Of the ruling Principles of the Times.

SECT. XII. THE three great *Principles* which curb the ſelfiſh Paſſions, and ſway the Manners of Men, are thoſe of Religion, Honour, and Public Spirit. The firſt of theſe, it was obſerved, has the *Deity* for its Object; the ſecond, the *Applauſe* of Men; the third, the *Approbation* of our own *Heart*. The Frame and Situation of Man admits

admits of no other Principle, from whence the Idea of *Duty* can ariſe. SECT. XII.

THESE Principles operate, by affecting the Mind with certain Kinds of Pleaſure and Pain; which, though they may be called *ſelfiſh* in one Senſe, are *diſintereſted* in another. *Moraliſts*, each purſuing his own Syſtem of *Thought*, or perhaps of *Words*, will diſpute on this Matter, as long as their Ink laſts. But as I write to the World, I quit what is merely ſpeculative, for what relates to Manners and Action. It is enough to obſerve, that whatever Name theſe Principles be entitled to, their well-directed Power tends to the general Happineſs of Man, their Abſence to Diſorder and Miſery.

ON the Subject of *religious Principle*, the Author obſerved, that "to ſuppoſe a "Man of Faſhion ſwayed in his Conduct "by a Regard to Futurity, is an Affront

"to

SECT. XII. " to the Delicacy and Refinement of his " *Taſte* *." As *Taſte* hath now generally ſupplanted *religious Principle*, we have the beſt Evidence in the World of their comparative Excellence and Effects, in appealing to the comparative Strength and Stability of the public State, in *paſt* and *preſent* Times.

" HENCE, the Day ſet apart by the Laws " of his Country for religious Service, he " derides and affronts as a vulgar and obſo- " lete Inſtitution †." The general Effects of this inſolent Abuſe are bad enough, even on the Manners of thoſe of the higheſt Rank and Quality: Nay indeed, the higher their Rank, the worſe its Effects; as the Contagion of the ill Example ſpreads wider, and ſtrikes deeper. Its immediate and particular ill Effect on the Manners and Principles of *Servants* in great Families, is ſtill more dreadful. There is not

* Vol. I. p. 54. † Ibid.

perhaps, generally ſpeaking, a more graceleſs and abandoned Crew upon Earth, than the Servants in the Houſes of the modern Great. They commonly have the *Vices* of their *Maſters*, without the Senſe of *Decency* to curb or diſguiſe them. I am told, that in ſome great Houſes, the Place of Rendezvous for the Servants goes by the Name of *Hell*; a Name, perhaps, not ill ſuited to the Genius of its Inhabitants: But a Name vilely given in Sport, and in Defiance of Divine Juſtice. How different a Scene does almoſt every modern great Family afford, from thoſe of the ancient Nobles of our Country, where the *Maſter* was the *Father*, *Inſtructor*, and *Friend* of his Servants, and had a generous Regard to their Morals, Principles, and real Welfare? I need hardly tell the World, that they are now generally left to the Workings of unbridled Paſſions, heightened by Idleneſs, high Living, and diſſolute Example. What can be the Reſult of this Madneſs, but Profligacy

SECT. XII. Profligacy in its Exceſs? Or what can come forth from ſuch Scenes of unprincipled Licentiouſneſs, but Pick-pockets, Proſtitutes, Thieves, Highwaymen, and Murderers? Theſe are your Triumphs, O SHAFTESBURY, BOLINGBROKE, TINDAL, MANDEVILLE, MORGAN, HUME!

"A certain *Hiſtorian* of our own "Times, bent upon *Popularity* and *Gain*, "publiſhed a large Volume, and omitted "no Opportunity that offered to diſ-"grace Religion, *&c.*" This Anecdote is ſo curious, and characteriſtic of the Writer alluded to, that it is fit the World ſhould know it more particularly. When this Gentleman found that his Hiſtory, though larded with Irreligion, did not ſell among the *licentious*; and that the *ſerious* were ſhocked at his Treatment of Religion, and on that Account were not Purchaſers; he ordered his Agent (but too late) to expunge the exceptionable Paſ-

ſages;

ſages; aſſigning for the Reaſon of his avoiding every Thing of this Kind in his ſecond Volume, "that he would not *offend the Godly.*" Now this very Man, in Defiance of all Decency, hath for ſeveral Years carried on a Trade of Eſſay-writing, in the Courſe of which he hath not only miſrepreſented, abuſed, and inſulted the moſt eſſential Principles of *Chriſtianity*, but, to the utmoſt of his Power, ſhaken the Foundations of all *Religion*. In theſe ſorry Eſſays he had no Fear of *offending the Godly*, becauſe he knew the *Godly* were not to be his *Buyers!* But when he finds that his Hiſtory muſt *ſell* among the *Godly*, or *not ſell* at all; *then* comes the Panic upon him; *then*, forſooth, he will not *offend the Godly*. Here, therefore, a *Character* is clearly developed. With St. PAUL, *Godlineſs* was *Gain*: But with *this* Man, *Gain* produceth *Godlineſs*.

SECT. XII.

As this was an Offence againſt the Public, 'tis fit the Public ſhould know it. Our

SECT. XII.

free and happy Conſtitution admits not of condign Puniſhment for the moſt profligate Crimes of this Kind: The Reaſon is, not that ſuch Men *deſerve not* Puniſhment, but that their Puniſhment would deſtroy Freedom. *Juſt Diſgrace*, therefore, is the proper Reward of thoſe, who thus vilely deſtroy the *Conſolation* of the *Afflicted*, the *Hopes* of the *Good*, and the *Fears* of the *Wicked*.

NEXT to the *Writers* of ſuch Books as tend to overturn the fundamental Principles of Religion, their *Publiſhers* deſerve ſurely to be ranked among the modern Peſts of Society. They are at leaſt as bad as an *Apothecary*, who ſhould ſell *Arſenic* with an Intent to *kill*. Every Man who is ſo abandoned as to deal in this pernicious Trade, ought in common Juſtice to give fair Notice of it to his Fellow Citizens, and write over his Door,

And if a Man have need of Poiſon now,
Here lives a Caitiff Wretch, *will ſell it him**.

* Romeo.

HEAR the wiſe and ſagacious MACHIAVEL; a Writer never charged with any Tincture of Superſtition. "Among all "excellent and illuſtrious Men, they are "moſt praiſe-worthy, who have been the "chief Eſtabliſhers of Religion and di-"vine Worſhip: In the ſecond Place, are "they, who have laid the Foundations of "a Kingdom or Commonwealth.—On "the other Side, they are infamous and "deteſtable, who are Contemners of Re-"ligion, and Subverters of Government*." What then, are we to think of a Herd of dull Scribblers and their Admirers in our own Country, who during the laſt fifty Years have paſſed, with the faſhionable World, for the *Oracles* and *Heroes* of the Time? SECT. XII.

LET the juſt Remark of a wiſe and good Man, a Lover of Virtue and his Country,

* Diſc. Pol. l. i. c. 10.

SECT. XII.

conclude this Part of our Subject. "Theſe "Men would paſs for Wits in our Age, by "ſaying Things, which DAVID tells us, the "*Fool* ſaid in *his*: And ſet up with bring-"ing thoſe Wares to Market, which (GOD "knows) have been always in the World, "though kept up in Corners; becauſe "they uſed to mark their Owners, in for-"mer Ages, with the Name of *Buffoons*, "*Prophane*, or *Impudent* Men; who de-"ride all Form and Order, as well as "Piety and Truth; and, under the Notion "of Fopperies, endeavour to diſſolve the "very Bonds of all Society*."

THE Principle of *Honour* hath fared as ill among us, as that of Religion. "A "Man who ſhould go out of the com-"mon Road of Life in Purſuit of Glory, "—would be ſtared or laughed at,—as "an Ideot, who preferred *Shadows* to

* Preface to Sir *William Temple's* Works.

"*Reali-*

" *Realities* *." This was not *looſely* or *figuratively*, but *ſtrictly* and *literally* affirmed. " Honour (ſaith a modern Writer) " is a *Chimera* without Truth or Being †." And again: " So ſilly a Creature is Man, " that, intoxicated with the Fumes of " Vanity, he can feaſt on the Thoughts " of the Praiſes that ſhall be paid to his " Memory in future Ages †." Theſe Maxims have now generally taken Root among us: Thus *Honour* is deſpiſed and neglected as a *Shadow*; *Wealth* ſought after as the grand *Reality*. SECT. XII.

Now let us candidly examine, on what Foundation Honour is deſpiſed and neglected as a *Shadow*. Every pleaſing Impreſſion made on the Mind is equally a Reality, whatever be its external Occaſion. The external Occaſion is of no Conſequence to the Percipient, but as it affects him with Pleaſure: If it has that Effect,

* Vol. I. p. 59. † Fable of the Bees, Rem. R. ‡ Ibid.

SECT. XII.

it is of the ſame Import and Conſequence, that is, in other Words, it is equally *real*, whether it be a Heap of Gold preſent to the Eye, or the Applauſe of Men preſent to the Imagination. The Mind is *equally* affected, though by different Inſtruments. It is a Miſtake therefore to ſay, that Honour is a *Chimera*, more than that Wealth is a *Chimera*, provided it affect the Mind with as much Pleaſure.

BUT it will be urged, that Wealth furniſheth us with *ſolid* and *ſubſtantial* Pleaſures, which the Poſſeſſion of Honour cannot give. This, in that Extent in which it is affirmed, is no leſs a Miſtake than the other. Mere Competence can furniſh all that is deſirable for its own Sake, in the Articles of Eating, Drinking, Cloathing, Lodging: Now, beyond theſe, moſt of the Pleaſures which Wealth can furniſh, are founded in Imagination. And among theſe, it is remarkable, we muſt

have Recourſe chiefly to a *Deſire of Diſtinction*, that is, in other Words, to VANITY, ere we can rouze the Mind to taſte or deſire additional Degrees of Wealth. Now, what is *Vanity*, but a *Chimera*, if *Honour* be ſuch? The Senſe of Honour is the Deſire of Applauſe, through Means whoſe End is public Happineſs: Vanity is the Deſire of Applauſe, through Means which are often, if not generally, deſtructive of the public Happineſs. Thus we ſee what the Public hath gained (and by what wretched Sophiſtry they have been miſled) in deſpiſing *Honour* as a *Chimera*, and courting *Wealth* only as a *Reality*. The Conſequence is, as the Writer obſerved, that "Wealth, Titles, Dreſs, Equipage, "Sagacity in Gaming or Wagers, ſplendid "Furniture and a Table, are the ſole "Fountains from whence we deſire to "draw Reſpect to ourſelves, or Applauſe "from others. Thus the ſalutary Prin-"ciple of virtuous Honour is perverted,

SECT. XII.

SECT. XII. " and dwindled into unmanly and perni-
" cious Vanity *."

The Author made no Scruple to declare, that he thought " the Principle of " *public Spirit*, or the Love of our Coun- " try, is leſs felt among us, than even thoſe " of *Religion* and true *Honour* †." This is eaſily accounted for, according to the natural Courſe of Things, of Cauſes and Effects. For the Principles of Religion and virtuous Honour, tho' both of them ſalutary and excellent, yet they do not ſo totally diſengage the Mind from the Views of Self-Love, as the Principle of pure and genuine Public Spirit. In Times, therefore, when Selfiſhneſs forms the ruling Character of a People, that Principle which is at fartheſt Diſtance from Self-love, will ſooneſt and moſt generally loſe its Influence. The Principle itſelf, therefore, being at Variance with the Character of the

* Vol. I. p. 61. † Ibid. p. 62.

Times,

Times, and its beſt Supports, *Religion* and *Honour*, being weakened or perverted, what can prevent its total Annihilation? SECT. XII.

I KNOW there are a Set of *Dreamers*, who talk in their Sleep on the Fair and Beautiful, and will tell you, in Spite of Experience, that this Annihilation of public Spirit is impoſſible: becauſe the Love of our Country, being naturally beautiful, is natural to the Mind of Man, and therefore cannot be extinguiſhed. To me, I muſt confeſs, it ſeems far otherwiſe, from all that I have obſerved of human Nature: The Affections which are neceſſary to the *Being*, the *Increaſe*, and *Preſervation* of the Species, are *univerſal:* Thoſe which are only neceſſary to the *Well-being* or *Improvement* of the Species, ſeem to require both *Inſtruction* and *Habit*, to bring them to their juſt Perfection. Thus the Deſire of the Sexes, and the parental Affection, riſe univerſally of their own Accord: A more extended Bene-

SECT. XII.

Benevolence, and the Love of our Country are the Reſult of Culture and Habit. Without theſe, the benevolent Affection grows weaker, in Proportion as its Object is farther removed from Self*. But enough, or perhaps too much, of ſpeculative Diſquiſition.

"OUR Affections (at preſent) ſeldom "reach farther than our Relations, our "Friends, or Individuals in Diſtreſs †." This, as the Author hath obſerved above, ‡ is the Reach and Character of modern *Humanity*. It may ſeem odd, that, while this ſo generally prevails, public Spirit

* There is a delicate Obſervation in one of the Letters of NINON DE L'ENCLOS. Speaking of the Virtue of Women, ſhe gives it as a Maxim of Caution to her Pupil, that there are Seaſons when Paſſion is in Danger of being too ſtrong for Virtue; for, ſays ſhe, "Our Paſſions are, as it were, a Part "of our *ſolid Subſtance*; whereas our Virtue is only "*inlaid*." The Original is more elegant: "N'eſt "qu' une Piece de Rapport."

† Vol. I. p. 64. ‡ See Page 39. of this Volume.

ſhould

ſhould be ſo totally quenched. Yet this Appearance is eaſily accounted for. When the Humanity of a People is founded in *Principle* of any Kind, it naturally riſeth into public Spirit. But where Humanity hath its chief Foundation in *effeminate Manners*, as at preſent, *there* it amounts to no more than *temporary* Starts of *Pity*, according as Objects of Diſtreſs occaſionally preſent themſelves. Enlarged Views of Benevolence are quite beyond the Reach of ſuch a People: And hence, this Species of *Humanity*, and a total *Defect* of *public Spirit*, are not only *compatible*, but naturally *connected*.

SECT. XII.

In Confirmation of this, it is remarkable, that *Ferocity* was the Character of the Roman People, when their public Spirit was in its meridian Splendor. *Their* private Connexions and Regards gave Way to the Welfare of their Country, in as remarkable a Degree, as our Atten-

SECT. XII.

Attention to the Welfare of our Country gives Way to private Connexions and Regards. *Here*, whenever the private Intereſt of any Individual claſhes with the public Safety, Parties are formed in favour or disfavour of the Individual, not according to the Merits of the Cauſe, but their Likings or Diſlikings of, their Attachments to, their Intereſts with, their Expectations from, the Man. How contrary to this, the great ROMAN Spirit was, in the Period of public Virtue, let the following Inſtance ſtand for Proof.

MANLIUS, ſurnamed CAPITOLINUS, from the particular Service he had done his Country, was the moſt renowned and beloved Perſon of his Age. In Emulation of CAMILLUS, whom the ROMANS had advanced to a higher Degree of Honour, he attempted to deſtroy the Liberties of *Rome*. He was detected, and ſeized. Then it was, that the great Roman

man Spirit ſhone out in its Luſtre. He was at once forſaken by all who had ſo late adored him. The whole Body of the Nobility, the Tribunes, and the People laid aſide their Enmities, and united in the juſt Deſign of puniſhing his Guilt. His neareſt Friends and Relations ſympathized with the Public; and refuſed him the wonted Conſolation of appearing in Mourning at his Trial. He had ſaved his *Country*; yet all his Virtues could not ſave *him*, when he meditated the Deſtruction of his Country. He was tried, condemned, and ſuffered Death. SECT. XII.

THIS, perhaps, is the ſtrongeſt Inſtance upon Record, of the Triumph of public Spirit over private Humanity.

IT might now, in Concluſion, be no incurious Search, to enquire into the comparative Force and Effects of theſe three Principles, of Religion, Honour, and pub-

SECT. XII.

lic Spirit. But in a Work of this Kind, every Branch of every Subject cannot be particularly examined. Perhaps, in brief, their eſſential Effects may thus be truly ſeparated and diſtinguiſhed. *Honour* will prevent *ſmall* Crimes, and produce *great* Actions: *Religion* will prevent *great* Crimes, and produce *good* Actions: The *Love* of our *Country*, as it ſeldom riſeth unleſs when built on Honour and Religion, hath commonly the Force of the other two united; will prevent Crimes *great* and *ſmall*, will produce Actions *great* and *good*.

But what is the State of that Nation, in which the firſt of theſe is generally perverted among the Great, the ſecond derided, and the third extinguiſhed?

WHAT the Effects are, we are now more particularly to conſider.

The END *of the* FIRST PART.

PART II.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE PUBLIC EFFECTS OF THESE MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES.

PART II.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON The PUBLIC EFFECTS of theſe Manners and Principles.

SECT. I.

Farther Remarks on the National Capacity.

WITH Regard to the *political Leaders* of the People, in every Department, this Subject may ſeem to have been ſufficiently exhauſted, and perhaps too freely treated, in the firſt Volume. However, a few additional Obſervations naturally offer themſelves. SECT. I.

" BUT if in any Nation (ſuppoſe our " own) the Number of theſe ſuperior

SECT. I. "Minds be daily decreaſing from the growing Manners of the Times; what can a Nation, ſo circumſtanced, have more to fear, than that, in another Age, a general Cloud of Ignorance may overſhadow it *?"

THE Circumſtances, that ſeem to threaten this Cataſtrophe, are, Firſt, The general Ignorance of the great World. Secondly, Their Contempt and Ridicule of Letters. Thirdly, Their Neglect of Men of Genius and Learning.

THE general Ignorance of the great World (tho' there be a few Exceptions) is no Secret to the *reſt* of Mankind, whatever it be to *themſelves:* and therefore the Writer cannot be ſaid to *divulge* it. If any of theſe high Perſonages doubt the Fact, the Circumſtances enumerated in the firſt Volume may give them all reaſonable Satisfaction †.

* Vol. I. p. 78. † Vol. I. from page 74, to p. 78.

AND if a Writer, ſo far below their honourable Regard, may preſume to point out thoſe Paths of Learning and Knowledge, which they might tread with Credit to themſelves, and Uſe to their Country; I will adventure to lead them into this ſalutary Track; not on my own weak Authority; but on that of Facts, and the unſhaken Experience of Ages. SECT. I.

LET it therefore be remembered here, that the *Permanency* or *Duration* of the State, is the main Object of theſe Eſſays. And as it is moſt evident, that the Character and Conduct of the Great, is the Circumſtance on which this *Duration* naturally depends; ſo if we can fix the leading Character and Conduct of the *Great*, in that State, which hath been remarkably and eminently of the longeſt Duration; it follows, that *ſuch* a leading Character and Conduct ought, above all others, to be the Object of Imitation among thoſe of high

SECT. I. Rank in our own Country; eſpecially, if the Effects of ſuch a leading Character and Conduct on the Duration of a State, can be pointed out and traced.

Now, ſo it happens, that the State which hath been eminently of the longeſt *Duration*, is that wherein *Knowledge* and *Learning* has, through all the *Records* of Time, been the *leading Character* of the GREAT.

" THE Nation of CHINA may be diſtin-
" guiſhed into *learned* and *illiterate*. The
" laſt makes up the Body, or Maſs, of
" the People: The firſt comprehends all
" that govern; for no other than the
" *Learned* are ever employed in the Go-
" vernment.

" BUT to comprehend what this Govern-
" ment of CHINA is, and what the Perſons
" employed in it, there will be a Neceſſity
" of knowing what their Learning is, and
" how

" how it makes them fit for Government; " very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is " obſerved to do*; and the Reaſon of " ſuch different Effects from (ſeemingly) " the ſame Cauſe. SECT. I.

" THEIR Learning is contained in the " Writings of the great and renowned " CONFUCIUS. The Sum of his Writings " ſeems to be a Body or Digeſtion of Ethics; " that is, of all moral Virtues, either per- " ſonal, œconomical, civil or political; " and framed for the Inſtitution and Con- " duct of Mens Lives, their Families, " and their Governments, but chiefly of " the laſt. That the Means to this End is " chiefly, not to will or deſire any thing " that is not agreeable to the Good and " Happineſs of other Men, as well as our " own.—In ſhort, the whole Scope of all " CONFUCIUS has writ, ſeems aimed only

* See p. 37. of this Volume.

SECT. I.

" at teaching Men to live well, and to go-
" vern well: How Parents, Maſters, and
" Magiſtrates ſhould rule; and how Chil-
" dren, Servants, and Subjects, ſhould
" obey.

" THIS is the Learning of the CHI-
" NESES; and all other Sorts are either
" *diſuſed*, or *ignoble* among them.

" ALL their Councils and all their Ma-
" giſtracies are compoſed of Men, emi-
" nent in this uſeful Knowledge. From
" theſe are choſen all their *Chief-Officers*
" and *Mandarines*, both civil and military:
" their Learning and Virtue make them
" eſteemed more able for the Execution
" and Diſcharge of all public Employ-
" ments, than Practice and Experience
" in moſt other Countries: and when
" they come into Armies, they are found
" braver and more generous in expoſing
" their Lives upon all great Occaſions,

" than

"than the boldeſt Soldiers of their SECT. "Troops *." I.

CAN we be ſurprized, if a State, whoſe Leaders are thus ſeverely formed from their Infancy, to political and virtuous Knowledge, ſhould ſtand unmoved, the unſhaken Wonder of paſſing Ages; while other Commonwealths are born and die, ere a Comet can revolve round the Sun?

Or could we reaſonably be ſurprized, if a State which hath continued firm and unmoved thro' ſuch a Series of Ages, while ſupported by ſuch Manners and Principles in its leading People, ſhould in the Courſe of a few Years ſeem to *totter*, when theſe Manners and Principles, founded in a virtuous and learned Education, give Way to the private Avarice, Ambition, and ſelfiſh Paſſions of its Leaders?

'TIS true, a juſtly admired Writer aſcribes this Permanency to a different Cauſe;

* Sir *W. Temple*, on Heroic Virtue.

SECT. I.

"The ſtrict Complication of Parts in this "immenſe political Structure: ſo that no "ſingle Part can be ſhaken or removed, "without overturning the whole; which "is a Weight too great for any earthly "Power to move *." 'Tis with Reluctance the Writer differs from one he ſo much admires. But here, tho' the Fact he affirms be true, he hath fallen ſhort of the *original* Cauſe. 'Tis true, that the Complication he ſpeaks of, is the *immediate* Cauſe of the Permanency of the State: But the *peculiar Character*, *Knowledge*, and *Virtue*, of the *leading Members* of the State, is the great, univerſal, and powerful *Cement*, which runs thro' the whole Maſs, and alone maintains this ſtrict Complication; which, without this *uniting Power*, will of itſelf diſſolve; and the Structure, like that of other States, grow old, and by its own Weight fall to Pieces. But more of this in another Work †.

* L'Eſprit des Loix. † See the Advertiſement prefixed to Vol. I.

THE

THE ſecond Circumſtance that threatens us with a general Overflow of Ignorance, *is the Contempt* and *Ridicule* of *Learning* among the Great. Even the Ridicule of *Pedantry* was, in the laſt Century, regarded as a Symptom fatal to Letters. "The "laſt Maim given to Learning, has been by "the Scorn of Pedantry; which the ſhal-"low, the ſuperficial, and the ſufficient "among Scholars firſt drew upon them-"ſelves, and very juſtly, by pretending "to more than they had, or to more Eſ-"teem than what they could deſerve; by "broaching it (Learning) in all Places, at "all Times, upon all Occaſions; and by "living ſo much among themſelves, or in "their Cloſets and Cells, as to make them "unfit for all other Buſineſs, and ridicu-"lous in all other Converſations *." What Conſequences, then, may we not expect and fear, when not Pedantry, but Know-

SECT. I.

* Sir *William Temple*, Vol. I. p. 169.

ledge

SECT. I.

ledge and Learning, is the common Object of Contempt among the Great? Or rather, when all Knowledge and Learning, except in Gaming, Wagers, good Eating, Burrough-Jobbing, and Intrigue, is ridiculed under the Name and *Maſque* of *Pedantry*?

THE third Circumſtance is, the general Neglect of Men of Genius and Learning. It muſt be confeſſed, theſe do not abound: How ſhould they, at a Time, when literary Patronage and Encouragement is ſo generally extinguiſhed? For it is but a few diſintereſted and daring Spirits, in any Age, that will devote themſelves to the Labours of Contemplation, when Neglect is the known Reward; or prefer the unfrequented and generous Path of Freedom and Competence, to the wide and eaſy Road of Servility and Wealth. 'Tis true, there are not wanting Inſtances of the moſt reſpectable Generoſity in the Patronage of Letters:

SECT. I.

Letters: The more ſuch Characters ought to be, and will be revered, as departing from the common Degeneracy of their Time and Country. But the general Character of the Age is quite the Reverſe of this; and implies a general Want of Capacity in the higher Ranks; becauſe all Men of Knowledge and Letters, love Men of Knowledge and Letters; as all Men of Ignorance deſpiſe or hate them. In Proof of this we need only appeal to the preſent State of our own Country; where the remaining FEW, who regard and promote Genius, Knowledge, Taſte, and Learning, are themſelves conſpicuous in theſe fine Qualities.

So much with Reſpect to the *Capacity* of our civil and political Leaders: With Regard to that of the *Military*, the Writer obſerved, that "would theſe Gentlemen pleaſe to "look into Hiſtory, they would find, that

SECT. I.

" in *poliſhed* Times, few have ever diſtin-
" guiſhed themſelves in War, who were
" not eminent or conſiderable in *Letters*.
" They would find PISISTRATUS, PERI-
" CLES, ALCIBIADES, DION, AGESI-
" LAUS, EPAMINONDAS, among the
" *Greeks:* In the *Roman* Liſt, both the
" SCIPIO's, CATO the elder and the
" younger, LUCULLUS, POMPEY, BRU-
" TUS, CÆSAR, diſtinguiſhed in *Letters*
" as in War *," Turn your Eyes, *Britons*, from your own fallen and wretched Country; turn them to the *Continent*, and behold even this illuſtrious Liſt eclipſed by the unexampled Genius, Magnanimity, Conſtancy, and Valour, of ONE HERO; And give at leaſt a ſincere, though fruitleſs Proof of your Gratitude to your Deliverer, and of your remaining Senſe and Admiration of thoſe Virtues you dare no imitate, in being the firſt to lead the Way

* Vol. I. p. 80.

to preſent Times and to Poſterity, in ſtyling him "FREDERIC THE GREAT." SECT. I.

THE third Order of Men, on whom, in the Writer's Opinion, the national Capacity depends, is that of the *Clergy*. And on this Subject he obſerved, that "when "the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Clergy, and that "Chriſtianity which they teach, were "moſt honoured and reſpected at Home, "*England* was then moſt honoured and "reſpected abroad *." It hath been aſked, When was this? The Reply is obvious to any unprejudiced Mind. In the Reign of ELIZABETH; at the Abdication of JAMES the Second; in the honeſt and proſperous Days of ANN. I ſay the *honeſt* and *proſperous*; becauſe ſhe lived to ſee Days neither *honeſt* nor *proſperous*.

"NOR can the worthy Part of them, "ſure, aſpire to truer Glory, than to

* Vol. I. p. 83, 84.

"have

SECT. I.

" have become the *Contempt* of *thoſe*, " who are become the *Contempt* of Eu- " ROPE *." A bigotted and tyrannical Clergy will be feared and idolized in a Country of Slavery and Superſtition: A virtuous Clergy will be loved and reverenced in a Country of Freedom and Virtue: The virtuous among a Clergy will be deſpiſed or hated (according to their Rank) in a Country of Freedom and licentious Principles and Manners. The firſt is the Caſe in moſt *Papiſt* Countries; the ſecond, in the *Proteſtant* SWISS Cantons; the third, in *modern* ENGLAND.

IT is not true, what hath been inſinuated, that not the *Profeſſion*, but the worthleſs *Profeſſors* are deſpiſed On the contrary, the worthleſs Profeſſors are often careſſed and promoted, becauſe they fall in with the ruling Vices of the Great: While the worthy Part of the Order are

* Vol. I. p. 84.

often

often kept at Diſtance, becauſe they ſcorn to degrade themſelves and their Profeſſion by a wicked and ſhameful Adulation. SECT. I.

"BUT while I defend and honour the "Profeſſion, I mean not to flatter the "Profeſſors *." The Truth is, the Clergy are neither better nor worſe than other Men, but are naturally carried along in the general Stream of Manners. And hence, it muſt be owned and lamented, that Religion cannot poſſibly have that Influence in the luxurious and effeminate Period, which it hath in ſimpler Times; on Account of that ruling Syſtem of Manners in which its Miniſters will naturally be involved.

WHEN it is ſaid, "they are neither bet-"ter nor worſe than other Men," it is meant, "ſo far as they are Men." But in every Period, every *Profeſſion* hath its

* Vol. I. p. 84.

diſtinct

SECT. I.

diſtinct *Character*; and *theirs* naturally *exempts* them from *ſome Vices*, and perhaps *expoſes* them to *others*.

AT the ſame Time it muſt be confeſſed (or, if you pleaſe, it ſhall be maintained) that the Idea of a proper clerical Conduct is carried higher in *Speculation*, than human Nature will in Reality admit. The Laity ſeem to forget that the Clergy are Men of like Paſſions with themſelves. From this Archetype of *ideal* Perfection, it comes to paſs, that any *Ridicule* in this Order of Men is *doubly ridiculous*; any *Crime*, doubly *criminal*. Yet, with all their Defects and Frailties, the Writer is of Opinion, that, among the middle Ranks of this Profeſſion, there is more Regard to Duty, more open and undeſigning Hoſpitality, more unaffected Generoſity, as well as Charity and Piety, than in any other Order of Men now in Being.

BUT

BUT with Regard to thoſe who "converſe with what is called the *World*, and "are ſuppoſed to make a Part of it:" Theſe, the Writer ſtill maintains, are *generally* (not univerſally) given up, the younger Part to Views of *Pleaſure*; the elder, to Views of *Gain*. SECT. I.

AND the Completion of the Evil is, that theſe Characters ſtand in the Sunſhine and Glare of Life, expoſed to public Obſervation and Scorn; while the Humble, the Pious, the Learned, the Virtuous, are loſt to the unworthy and contemptuous World, in the Obſcurity of a peaceful Retreat.

THE Weekly Dabblers in Politics, it ſeems, (ſome of whom, the Writer is informed, now and then honour him and his Friends with their Abuſe) are mighty Sticklers for having the *public Reform* be-

SECT. I. gin with that of the *Clergy*. And indeed, what ſhould ſeem more natural at firſt Sight, than that a Reformation ſhould firſt prevail among that Body of Men, whoſe peculiar Province it is, to *reform others*? Yet this Project, plauſible as it may appear, can never take Place, under our preſent Circumſtance, except in the Brain of thoſe who ſkim the Surface of Hiſtorical Speculation.

FOR, firſt, a Clergy cannot generally be reformed, till *they* are reformed who generally appoint them. Who appoint the Clergy? Are they not, the GREAT? Are they not thoſe (I take things in the general Aſpect) who are moſt infected with the Manners and Principles of the Times? Now, theſe will generally *appoint* ſuch as they *approve* and *like*; and they will generally *approve* and *like* thoſe Men, who are of *their own* Manners, Principles, and Character.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, the Reformation of a Clergy, at ſuch a Period, would not bring on a general Reformation, or cure the ruling Evils of the Times. It might do additional Good among the *middle* and *lower* Ranks, but not generally among the *higher*: Becauſe *there*, a *Clergy*, though reformed, will always be *deſpiſed*, where Manners are *luxurious*, and *religious* Principle *extinct*. SECT. I.

SECT. II.

The Writer's Apology for himſelf.

"IT is grown a faſhionable Thing, "among theſe Gentlemen (the Clergy) to "deſpiſe the Duties of their Pariſh *.", This is too copious a Subject, to be here treated of: And beſides, is of too *particular* a Nature, to gain a Place in a Work of this Kind, which treats not of Things SECT. II.

* Vol. I. p. 85.

SECT. II. in the *Detail*, but in their more *general* Principles.

" To wander about, as the various " Seaſons invite, to every Scene of falſe " Gaiety *." This Charge, it ſeems, hath been retorted with Vehemence upon the Writer himſelf. He underſtands, it is loudly objected to him, that *he* mixes in public Life, and with the faſhionable World, as frequently as moſt of his Profeſſion; and, *at times*, is ſeen in Places of the moſt public Reſort and Diſſipation.

HE admits the Fact: And preſents his Apology.

FIRST, Suppoſing all that is alledged or inſinuated, to be true; he apprehends, the Conduct of his Life cannot affect or weaken the Reaſoning of his Work.

SECONDLY, He hath Cauſe to believe, that they who thus accuſe him, are ſuch

* Vol. I. p. 85.

as

as themſelves frequent thoſe Scenes of faſhionable Folly. Now, let but theſe Gentlemen as loudly and publicly declare againſt the modern Spirit of Effeminacy and Diſſipation, as he hath done; and then the World may poſſibly believe, that he and they are *there* upon the *ſame Principle.* SECT. II.

THIRDLY, He hath Reaſon to ſuſpect, that if he writ altogether from the Cloſet, theſe Objectors would then aſſume another Tone. They would ſay (and indeed with good Reaſon)

Yes; we deſpiſe the Man to Books confin'd,
Who from his Study rails at all Mankind.
The Coxcomb Bird, ſo talkative and grave,
Who from his Cage cries Cuckold, Fool, and Knave;
Tho' many a Paſſenger he rightly call,
We hold him no Philoſopher at all *.

LASTLY, Therefore, if he mixeth in public Life, the candid World will judge

* Mr. *Pope.*

SECT. II.

for what End he does it, not from the railing of angry Men, but from the *Tenor* of his *Writings*; the beſt Indications of his Mind and Character. There is an eſſential Diſtinction between thoſe who *love* Diſſipation, and thoſe who *view*, in order to *expoſe* it. There is an eſſential Diſtinction between the *Provoſt* of an Army, who goes out on Duty, and the *Marauders*, whom he hangs upon the next Tree.

To conclude; every Man's Sphere of Obſervation and Experience ſhould be, as far as poſſible, of the ſame Extent with the Objects of his Attention. The Painter, if he would give the Truth, muſt copy from Nature. The *rethailing* Tradeſman keeps to his Shop; the *private* Officer to his *Platoon*; the *Sailor* to his *Gun*: But the *Merchant*, the *General*, the *Admiral*, if they be wiſe, will take a *larger Tour* of Obſervation. The Writer neither

deſpiſes

deſpiſes nor *neglects* the Duties of his private Station: But as he hath taken upon him not only the Taſk of a *parochial*, but the more important and arduous one of a *national Preacher*, he hopes theſe Gentlemen will excuſe him, if he goes a little out of the *common* Road, and endeavours to *underſtand* his Subject before he *talks* upon it. With their Leave therefore (nay, without their Leave) he will continue to viſit the ſeveral Parts of his *larger* Diſtrict; and intends not to content himſelf with a narrower Sphere of Remark, than that of his Majeſty's Dominions. SECT. II.

SECT. III.

Farther Remarks on the national Spirit of Defence.

" THE national Spirit of Defence will " always be compounded of the national " bodily Strength, Hardineſs, Courage, SECT. III.

SECT. III. " and Principle.—The common People " of this Nation ſeem poſſeſſed of the " three firſt of theſe four Qualities, in a " Degree ſufficient to form an effectual " and national Spirit of Defence *." Here the Writer left the Matter ſhort: It may truly be affirmed, that the common People of this Kingdom are in little or no Danger of being defective in theſe three Qualities: Their Climate, their Diet, their Way of Life, to which Neceſſity inures them, naturally form them ſtrong, hardy, and couragious. The only Enemies they have to fear, are the Creatures of Luxury, *Gin* and *Tea*.

" THEY commonly have a proportion- " ed Kind of Principle, which works it's " Effect in Battle †." The Principle here ſpoken of, is that of Honour. But as to this, the Writer thinks it may be eaſily

* Vol. I. p. 87, 88. † Ibid.

deſtroy-

deſtroyed: And will certainly be weakened as modern Maxims gain Ground among them. SECT. III.

SECT. IV.

Of the different Genius and Permanency of Popery and Proteſtantiſm.

LET us now more particularly conſider, how far the different Genius of the two religious Syſtems of Popery and Proteſtantiſm, may affect the national Spirit of Defence, and conſequently the Duration of every State: A Subject but ſlightly touched on in the former Volume. SECT. IV.

"ENTHUSIASTIC Religion leads to "Conqueſt; rational Religion leads to ra- "tional Defence; but the modern Spirit "of Irreligion leads to raſcally and aban- "doned Cowardice*."

* Vol. I. p. 90.

THIS

SECT. IV. THIS is a Text, on which the Writer thinks it of particular Conſequence to enlarge.

1. POPISH Superſtition, as well as Fanaticiſm (of which indeed, in many Inſtances, Popiſh Superſtition is a Species) is a more active Principle, with Regard to Conqueſt, than rational Proteſtantiſm. The firſt piques itſelf on deſtroying and extirpating the Enemies of God: The latter, regarding none as the Enemies of God on account of *Error*, aims only at rational Defence.

WHILE Proteſtantiſm, therefore, retains its proper *Influence* in the Minds of Men, it may be a Match for Popiſh Superſtition. What it wants in *Fury*, it makes up in *Steadineſs*. This Truth our Forefathers have *twice* ſeen manifeſted in our own Country.

BUT

SECT. VI.

BUT here lies the Danger: Mankind are apt to be either blindly *zealous*, or altogether *cool* in Matters of *Religion:* The Reaſon is, becauſe Mankind are generally led by their *Paſſions*, in Religion, as in other Things. Hence the peculiar Danger to Proteſtantiſm, ariſing from Popery. For Popery, in it's Nature tending to *inflame* a *Paſſion*, lays hold of the ruling Weakneſs of Man: While Proteſtantiſm, working only on his nobler Part, his *Reaſon*, whoſe Dictates he but ſeldom regards, is apt to fall away into Neglect and Coldneſs. Thus we ſee, taking Man as he is, *Fury* is the natural Character of the one; *Indifference*, of the other.

2. BESIDES this, Popiſh Superſtition obtains another Advantage over rational Proteſtantiſm, ariſing from *degenerate Manners*. For Popery points out religious Fury and Perſecution, as the beſt *Attonement*

SECT. IV.

for Vice or *Crimes:* Whereas Proteſtantiſm urgeth no Pretence of this Kind upon it's Votaries; but, on the contrary, teaches them, that without Morals, Religion is *Mockery* of God. Thus we ſee, that even the *Vices* of a *Papiſt* tend to inſpire him with *furious Zeal:* Whereas the *Vices* of a *Proteſtant* urge him, for the ſake of a falſe Peace of Mind, to the Neglect, the deſigned *Forgetfulneſs* of all Religion.

THUS, though the perſecuting Principle of the Papiſt doth not preſerve the Purity of his Manners; yet even the Degeneracy of his Manners tends to preſerve his Principle. This we ſee confirmed by the general State of Things in our own Country; in which, though the Roman Catholics are carried along in the common Stream of Manners, yet their Principles remain unſhaken.

ON

SECT. IV.

On the other hand, tho' the rational Principles of Proteſtantiſm tend to preſerve the Purity of Manners; yet, if a Degeneracy of Manners comes on, it certainly tends to deſtroy the Principle. This, too, we ſee confirmed by the general State of Things in our own Country; where, as Manners have degenerated, religious Principle hath decayed.

3. Another Circumſtance, which tends to preſerve and ſtrengthen the blind Zeal and intolerant Principles of Popery, is, the tremendous Penalty annexed in the Imagination to any Departure from them. For as the Papiſt believes this Departure will expoſe him to all the Effects of the divine Diſpleaſure; ſo this Apprehenſion tends to prevent the natural Excurſions of Thought, and chains down the Mind in intellectual Darkneſs.

On the contrary, the free Principle of Proteſtantiſm, not working by *Terror*, en-

SECT. IV.

courages the Mind to range abroad in Queſt of Truth. No religious Apprehenſion accompanies the Search: And hence, tho' *Reaſon* will ſometimes fix the Mind in ſalutary religious Principle, *Paſſion* will oftener allure and miſguide it into the pleaſurable Path of Unbelief.

4. ANOTHER Cauſe of the ſuperior Permanency of Popery, ariſeth naturally from the laſt aſſigned. Where ſo much Merit is ſuppoſed to be in one particular Syſtem of Belief, and ſo much Demerit or Guilt in any Departure from it, there, even the benevolent Paſſions urge ſtrongly to making Proſelytes. It is eſteemed little leſs than ſaving a Soul, to draw a Man over to the Popiſh Faith. And, to give all Parties their Due, this hath been often the miſtaken and fatal Motive to Perſecutions, which have been charged altogether upon unfeeling Cruelty. Now the Genius of Proteſtantiſm is eſſentially oppoſite to this.

As

As it is too juſt and generous to *compel*, ſo, as a natural Conſequence, it is often too indolent, even to *perſuade*. SECT. IV.

5. A FIFTH Cauſe of the Permanency of Popiſh Principle, beyond that of Proteſtantiſm, was touched in general Terms in the firſt Volume. Popiſh Superſtition arms itſelf with the Weapons of civil Power; and, by checking the open and avowed *Profeſſion*, checks in a certain Degree the Progreſs of Impiety. Whereas it muſt be acknowledged and lamented, as one of the unalterable Defects of a free Government, that Opinion muſt have its Courſe. The Diſeaſe is bad; but the Cure would be fatal. Thus Freedom is compelled to admit an Enemy, who, under Pretence and Form of an Ally, often proves her Deſtroyer.

6. THE laſt Cauſe flows naturally, as a Conſequence of theſe which have been aſſigned.

SECT. IV.

ſigned. A religious Principle, which is only overwhelmed by the Prevalence of Vice or Paſſion, but ſtill lies dormant in the Heart, may be eaſily awakened and recalled into Action: But where the Principle is not *overwhelmed*, but *extinguiſhed* by degenerate Manners, *there* it is ſeldom, if ever, reſtored to its former Influence.

Now the Popiſh Principle, when it ſeems to loſe its Effect, is generally no more than overwhelmed by vicious Manners: The religious Belief being rooted in powerful Paſſions, remains in the Heart, and thro' any ſtriking or alarming Incident, is again awakened into Action. Thus it manifeſtly operated, in an Inſtance recorded by MACHIAVEL. "The Roman "Religion would doubtleſs have been loſt "before this, had it not been reduced to- "wards its firſt Principle by St. FRANCIS "and St. DOMINIC; who, by their Po- "verty, and Chriſtian-like Examples, re-

"vived

" vived it in the Minds of Men, where it SECT.
" was almoſt effaced; and prevailed, that IV.
" the Impoſeneſs and Depravity of the Pre-
" lates and Cardinals did not ruin it: For
" Men, ſeeing them live in that Indigence
" and Poverty, by confeſſing their Sins to
" them; and hearing them preach, began
" to learn Meekneſs, Charity, and Obe-
" dience *." In this Inſtance, we ſee, the Principle was *overwhelmed*, but not *extinguiſhed*.

But where the Principles of rational Proteſtantiſm are born down by oppoſite Manners, there the Power of theſe ruling Manners tends not only to overwhelm the Effects of the rational Principle, but to deſtroy the Principle itſelf. For Reaſon is eaſily betrayed or corrupted by Paſſion: and where rational Principle is not rooted in ſome oppoſite Paſſion of equal Strength

* Diſc. Pol. l. iii. c. 1.

SECT. IV.

with that which bears it down, as ſoon as Reaſon is corrupted, the Principle is of Courſe extinguiſhed, and loſt. The *preſent* State of our own Country is a lamentable Inſtance of this Truth.

NEED I point out the particular Tendency and End of theſe Reaſonings? It is plainly this: That if we regard Man as that weak Creature which he always hath been, is, and will be; as a Creature often led by *Paſſion*, and ſeldom by *Reaſon*; there is manifeſtly an Inequality of Force in theſe two Species of Religion. Their GENIUS is eſſentially oppoſite: Proteſtantiſm calmly preſents herſelf to the *Reaſon*, Popery ſeizes the *Paſſions* of Mankind: And hence, modern Popery ſet againſt modern Proteſtantiſm, is in Danger of overwhelming it.

IT

SECT. IV.

It may be objected againſt this Argument, and is frequently maintained, that although the vulgar are led blindfold by Popiſh Superſtition, yet Stateſmen are not its Dupes, and therefore it is to be regarded as a mere Creature of the State, and ſubſervient to the Views of Policy. In Reply to this, let it be conſidered, firſt, that although Stateſmen are often Contemners of the Religion of their Country, yet they are not always ſo: Secondly, ſuppoſe them to be of this Turn, yet, in Popiſh Countries, the Princes are generally ſuperſtitious, and will therefore often ſway the Councils of the State, where they have Spirit and Action. Thirdly, they are altogether unacquainted with the Foundations of Politics, who know not, that the Religion of every Country will always ſtrike its ruling Colours deep into the Politics of the Country, in ſpite of all the

SECT. IV.

Stateſmen in the World. And laſtly, that even where Superſtition is made the Dupe of Ambition, and Schemes of Polity, even *there* it is the moſt powerful of all Engines in working up the Body of the People to carry into effectual Execution thoſe very Schemes which perhaps were planned by *Atheiſm*. The Objection thereof is futile; and founded in a total Ignorance of true Politics and human Nature.

To convince the Proteſtant World, how much Reaſon there is at preſent for a general Watchfulneſs and Union in this Regard, let us confirm what hath been here ſaid on the different Genius of the two Religions, by a ſhort View of the preſent State of BRITAIN, AMERICA, and the EUROPEAN Continent.

WITH Regard to our own Country, the Principles of Proteſtantiſm have loſt their

their Influence: Inſomuch, that it is no Injuſtice to the higher Ranks of this Kingdom to ſay, that the main Security of the Church ariſeth from its Alliance with the State. There is now among the Great, ſuch a general Indifference and Supineneſs in, not to ſay Contempt of, every Thing that regards Religion *only*, as may well alarm thoſe few, who look forward to Poſterity. How different a State of Religion is this, from that which prevailed in the Reign of ELIZABETH? When, as BOLINGBROOKE juſtly obſerves, "the "Reformation was eſtabliſhed, not only "in outward Form, *but in the Hearts of* "*Men**." How different from that which prevailed at the grand Period of the Abdication of JAMES the Second? When Proteſtant Principle took the Lead, even of the Spirit of *civil* Liberty; and

SECT. IV.

* Remarks on the Hiſtory of England, Let. XVIII.

SECT. IV.

effected the moſt glorious Revolution that Hiſtory hath yet recorded: A Revolution, which might juſtly be ſtyled *religious* rather than *political*. That great religious Spirit, which at theſe illuſtrious Periods ſhone ſo bright, is now quenched in Darkneſs; and the World beholds the Conſequence.

On the other Hand, the Zeal of Popery, in this Kingdom, is active, is indefatigable. It's very State of Separation tends naturally to this Effect. The Reaſons aſſigned above, ariſing from its particular Genius, maintain its Influence. The Prieſts are aſſiduous, from Principle, in making Proſelytes, and in urging their Party to make them. There is, at preſent, a Gentleman in the Weſt of *England*, who openly gives five Pounds to every Perſon who becomes a Proſelyte to the Roman Church; and the additional Bribe

Bribe of a *Sunday's* Dinner, for every ſuch Perſon that attends Maſs. Allurements of the ſame Kind are known to prevail in moſt Parts of the Kingdom, and among thoſe of the higheſt Rank, though not ſo openly declared. The Papiſts *ſeem* to *approve* our Lenity, in thus ſupinely letting the Laws ſleep: In the mean Time their Numbers increaſe. But can a Nation uſe its Eyes, and not ſee, that they muſt ſecretly deride our Folly? Eſpecially when we reflect farther, that they have at their Head, a Pretender to his Majeſty's Throne and Kingdoms, who regards the Inhabitants of this Nation, not as his *Subjects*, but his *Cattle*. Who doth not ſee, that by this blind Neglect, or, if you pleaſe, this miſtaken Lenity, (which by the Way ariſeth not from our *Generoſity*, but our *Contempt* of *Religion* and the *public* Welfare) we are treaſuring up a hidden and dreadful Mine, which, on the firſt Occa-

SECT. IV.

SECT. IV.

ſion given, will blow up our Conſtitution both in Church and State?

THE Writer hath no perſonal Pique to the Gentlemen of the Popiſh Faith: On the contrary, he knows many of them to be, in private Life, of *amiable* and *reſpectable* Characters. He is far from preſuming to deny even the *Merit* of their *Intentions* in a *religious* Regard: For there is no Doubt, but good Intentions may exiſt in every religious Sect. He hopes therefore, they will put the ſame charitable Conſtruction on *his* Intentions, while he lays open the Genius and Tendencies of their Syſtem of Belief. He is far from meaning to revive ſanguinary Laws: Yet theſe Gentlemen muſt excuſe him, if, knowing the *ruling* Principles of their Church, he freely explains and urges the Dangers that threaten his Country.

WITH

SECT. IV.

WITH Regard to the State of Popery and Proteſtantiſm on the Continent of AMERICA; this is no leſs diſcouraging to the true Proteſtant. The different Genius of the two Syſtems operates with the ſame Univerſality and Power. The Papiſts are zealous, watchful, and aſſiduous; the Proteſtants are cold, indifferent, and neglectful. The SPANIARDS, in Courſe of Time, will have converted one half of the vaſt *Southern* Continent, and murdered the other. The FRENCH join Policy to Zeal; or rather, make Zeal ſubſervient to Policy. They reaſon, they perſuade, they cajole, they terrify the poor INDIAN Nations; and by every Means of Truth, or Falſehood, draw them over to their Party. The Conduct of the ENGLISH is the Reverſe of all this. Doubtleſs many of our *Miſſionaries* are worthy Men: But it muſt be acknowledged, as the natural Effect and *Defect* of the *Proteſtant* Syſtem, that they

SECT. IV.

they are not generally *impelled* by *Zeal*, but *compelled* by *Neceſſity*, to viſit theſe remote and *inhoſpitable* Regions. In the mean Time, the Inhabitants of our Colonies are, like ourſelves, given up to Views of Gain and Pleaſure: The State of Religion is totally diſregarded; its Dictates and Principles derided and thrown off. Thus *Popery* advances with dreadful Strides, while *Proteſtantiſm* lies immerſed in Indolence and Sleep.

LET us next conſider the State of the two Religious Syſtems on the *Continent*.

IN the UNITED PROVINCES, we ſhall ſee their contrary Genius exerting itſelf, as if the Pourtrait here given of each had been drawn from hence. "There are "very great Numbers of *Roman Catholics* "in the *United Provinces*; notwithſtand-"ing their Religion, as Sir WILLIAM "TEMPLE

" TEMPLE obſerves, is not immediately protected by the Laws of the Republic. The ſame Author has aſſigned the Reaſon of this; which is, that the States believe the Roman Catholic Religion muſt make Men bad Subjects, while it teaches them to acknowledge a foreign Power ſuperior to that under which they live: And accordingly they have made ſeveral penal Laws to prevent the Growth of it. But as each Province hath reſerved to herſelf the Liberty of regulating Religion within her own Juriſdiction, theſe penal Laws of the States General have never been put in Execution. In HOLLAND eſpecially neither PRUDENCE nor POLICY would permit them to exclude ſo large a Body as the Roman Catholics out of the general Toleration: And accordingly they are very numerous in the great Towns of that Province, where

" the

SECT. IV.

SECT. IV.

" the Magiſtrates give them an equal Pro-
" tection with other Diſſenters. At AM-
" STERDAM, they have not fewer than
" twenty-four Chapels. There are great
" Numbers of the ſame Communion in
" ROTERDAM, and ſeveral other Cities:
" But they are moſt numerous in the
" Villages: Inſomuch that a Miller,
" Smith, or any other Mechanic, being
" a Proteſtant, is ſure to be a Beggar if
" he ſettles in the Country; for the
" Prieſts never fail to enjoin their whole
" Communion to neglect him. This per-
" haps may ſeem ſtrange to the *Engliſh*
" Reader, who conſiders HOLLAND as
" a reformed Country, and a principal
" Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion:
" But I ſpeak upon good Grounds; and,
" amongſt many Proofs which I might
" bring, of the Truth of what I advance,
" I chuſe to inſtance the Remonſtrance
" made to the States General in 1725,

" by the Deputies of the General Synod, SECT.
" who repreſented the Growth of Popery IV.
" in the moſt pathetic Terms; and
" affirmed, that ſince the Year 1650, the
" Number of Roman Catholics in the
" ſeven Provinces was increaſed *three*
" *hundred and fifty thouſand*; of which
" they had authentic Proofs *."

THUS the Love of *Gain* hath worked as powerfully towards the Increaſe of Popery in HOLLAND, as the Love of *Pleaſure* and *Diſſipation* hath done in ENGLAND: Conformable to the Principles laid down in the firſt Volume †.

WITH Reſpect to the reſt of EUROPE; its preſent State tends to prove ſtrongly the general Truths here advanced. We ſee the Proteſtant Crowns divided againſt each

* Batavia Illuſtrata. By O. Burriſh, Eſq; p. 147, 148.

† Vol. I. p. 163, &c.

other;

SECT. IV.

other; the Popiſh Crowns in Union and Confederacy. The RUSS and SWEDE have joined the *Popiſh* Power in tearing to Pieces his Majeſty of PRUSSIA. The EMPRESS QUEEN hath at length thrown off the Maſque; hath baſely deſerted thoſe who had long and often ſaved her from Deſtruction; and given a ſtriking Proof of this great Truth, That where Pride and Bigotry rule the Heart, *there* human Virtues find no eaſy Entrance. FRANCE is playing its old Game, and purſuing its eſtabliſhed Plan of Power.

THUS the active and zealous Popiſh Principle is every where working its Way; while the Coldneſs of Proteſtantiſm leaves the Iſſue of Things to the calm and ineffectual Deliberation of civil Policy; forgetting that *Paſſion* is the *Soul* of *Action*, and the great *Spur* that hath ever urged Mankind to all that is *Good* or *Wicked*.

IF

SECT. IV.

If we conſider the different Genius of theſe two Syſtems, as deſcribed above, we cannot wonder at this Difference of Conduct: and to evince, that it is not the Reſult from Chance, but from eſtabliſhed Cauſes, we ſhall ſee the ſame Spirit working in each, in former Ages. Bolingbroke (who was a *great Hiſtorian*, tho' but a *poor Reaſoner*; and ſaw Facts in their apparent Connexions, rather than in their *interior* Cauſes) hath given us the actual State of *Europe* in the Days of James the Firſt; which bears ſo ſtrong a Reſemblance to our own, in Regard to the Genius of the two Religions, that it cannot be thought incurious. "On the one Side, "the whole *Popiſh* Intereſt, in the Em- "pire, was *cloſely united*; and the Cauſe "of Ferdinand was the common Cauſe "of the Party. The Popiſh Intereſt, out "of the Empire, conſpired in the ſame "Cauſe

SECT. IV.

" Cauſe. The King of POLAND aſſiſted
" the Emperor in HUNGARY. Troops
" from ITALY, and a great Army from
" the *Netherlands*, acted for him in GER-
" MANY.—Even FRANCE, who ought in
" good Policy to have oppoſed the Houſe
" of AUSTRIA, was induced, by the *Bigo-*
" *try* of her Court, and perhaps by the
" private Intereſt of LUINES, to declare
" for the Emperor againſt the King of
" BOHEMIA. On the other Side, the *Pro-*
" *teſtant* Intereſt in the Empire was *far*
" *from* being *cloſely united*; and *farther*
" ſtill from making the Cauſe of FRE-
" DERIC the common Cauſe of the Party.
" Even the Princes of the Union had dif-
" ferent Views: many of them leaned to
" the Emperor; none of them could be
" entirely depended upon: And the Elec-
" tor of SAXONY, the moſt powerful of the
" Proteſtant Princes of the Empire, was
" ſo far from uniting with the others, that
" he

" he was firſt privately, and afterwards SECT.
" openly, but all along very ſteadily, on IV.
" the Side of FERDINAND. Out of the
" Empire, ſome Aſſiſtance might have
" been expected from the King of DEN-
" MARK and the DUTCH: but even *their*
" Acceſſion muſt have been *purchaſed*, at
" leaſt it muſt have been made uſeful, at
" the Expence of BRITAIN *."

HAD the Writer collected theſe Facts from Hiſtory, and drawn them thus to one central Point, it might juſtly have been ſuſpected, that he had thrown a falſe Light upon them in the Recital, that they might better ſerve his Purpoſe: But when we conſider this Paragraph as coming from an Author who was dead before the preſent Aſpect of Things took Place, we cannot but acknowledge the permanent *Unifor-*

* Remarks on the Hiſt. of *England*, Let. XXII.

SECT. IV. *mity* of *Principles*, working the ſame Effects in the moſt *diſtant* Periods of Time.

THE Event of this Popiſh League ought indeed to ſtrike us with *Awe*, tho' not with *Deſpondency*. FREDERIC of BOHEMIA was ſwallowed up by the Confederacy: But though no human Eye can pierce the impenetrable Veil of Fate, yet we have Reaſon to hope from what is paſt, that the great Prince now combined againſt, is not deſigned by Providence as a Sacrifice to bigot Power: Let us rather behold him as the *appointed* guardian Angel of *Truth* and *Liberty*, who with the Swiftneſs of *Light*, and the Terror of a *Whirlwind*, chears the Friends of *Freedom*, and overwhelms her *Enemies*.

THE manifeſt Inference is this: As it appears from theſe Reaſonings that the Genius of Popery is active, inſinuating, furious,

furious, unalterable, permanent; the Genius of Proteſtantiſm, calm, rational, indolent, fluctuating, periſhable; that we ought to be moſt *watchful* in the Preſervation of this invaluable Bleſſing; and active in the *Support* of *thoſe* who are the great *Supports* of *Proteſtantiſm*. SECT. IV.

SECT. V.

How far the Spirit of Duelling is connected with the manly Spirit of Defence.

"CAN the Debility of modern Ho- SECT. V.
"nour produce the manly Spirit of De-
"fence? Alas, if ever it is put in Action
"by any Thing beyond the Vanity of
"Shew; it is rouzed by an Affront, and
"dies in a Duel *."

BUT it ſeems the Opinion of many, that the Spirit of *Duelling*, and that of manly

* Vol. I. p. 90.

SECT. V.

national *Defence* are naturally connected, and of Courſe riſe or fall together. Much might be ſaid on this Subject; at preſent I ſhall only mark the Difference of *Principle*, on which theſe two different Syſtems of Conduct are founded.

THE Principle of *Honour* depends on, and ariſeth from, the *Love* of *Glory*, or the *Fear* of *Shame*. Where the Love of Glory is, the Dread of Shame comes of Courſe: But the Dread of Shame may exiſt without the Love of Glory; a Truth which is confirmed by Experience, in all *groveling* and *narrow* Minds; and in many that are *Good* too, but not *elevated*.

ON this Diſtinction is founded the eſſential Difference between a national Spirit of Defence, and the private Habit of Duelling. The national Spirit of *Defence*, ſo far as it depends on the Principle of *Ho-*

nour, can only be kept up by the *Love* of *Glory*. The mere *Dread* of *Shame* cannot raiſe this general Paſſion in a *People*, becauſe, among a People who have loſt the national Spirit of Defence, there is *no Shame* attending the *Loſs* of it. SECT. V.

But private Duelling ariſing from the Senſe of private Injury, is naturally produced by the Fear of Shame *only*. Glory is ſeldom thought of in this Inſtance: and where it is, produces the hateful Character of a *Bully*. It is the *Fear* of *Shame* therefore, and not the *Love* of *Glory*, that ſupports the Spirit of *Duelling*.

Thus we ſee, the Principle of Honour works by two different Paſſions in producing a Nation of *Duelliſts*, and a *Nation* of *Heroes*. The firſt are only compelled by the Fear of Shame; the latter are actuated by the Love of Glory. And thus

SECT. V. the national Spirit of *Defence* may be *ſtrong*, when that of *Duelling* is *extinct*; and the Spirit of *Duelling* may *exiſt*, when that of military *Honour* is *extinguiſhed*.

SECT. VI.

A remarkable Conſequence ariſing from this Difference of Principle.

SECT. VI. THESE Truths relate to Nations; and the Character of a People. But with Regard to *Fleets* and *Armies*, another Truth offers itſelf to Obſervation. Here, "The "Love of *Glory* is neceſſary in the *Leaders*, "as a Motive to great and daring *Enter-* "*prize*: But among the inferior Ranks, "the Fear of *Shame* will be generally of "Influence ſufficient to compel them to "their *Duty*." The Reaſon is evident: With Regard to the Leaders, as it is impoſſible

SECT. VI.

poſſible to point out to them their particular Track of Duty in every Inſtance, ſo their Conduct muſt be left in general, to the Determinations of their own Mind: *Great Actions* will naturally be attended with *Glory*; but the mere *Omiſſion* of great Actions, where peremptory Orders are not given, is not neceſſarily attended with *Shame*: Therefore it is the *Love* of *Glory* only, that can urge a *Leader* to *great* and *dangerous Attempts*.

BUT with Regard to the *inferior* Ranks; *there* the particular Track of Duty is pointed out; which is only this, "Obey "the Commands of your Leader." Under this Circumſtance, no Evaſion can take Place: Every Man muſt obey, or Infamy overtakes him: And thus the Fear of Shame becomes ſufficient.

SECT. VI.

THIS Diſtinction will clearly account for that ſtrange Difference of Conduct in our *Britiſh* Troops, during the laſt, as well as the preſent War. It hath been remarked, that at Times they have fought like *Lions*; at others, have been timorous as *Hares*. Their Bravery, in particular Inſtances, hath been brought as a Proof againſt the Exiſtence of the ruling Principle of *Effeminacy*, which runs through this Work. But whoever views this Matter, according to the Diſtinctions here pointed out, will at once ſee the Veil drawn off from this myſterious Appearance of Things. Where did our Troops diſtinguiſh themſelves in Valour? Was it not at DETTINGHEN? at LA FELDT? and above all, on the dreadful Field of FONTENOY, where honeſt *Fame* forſook the Standard of the *Victor*, and *wept* over the Banners of the retreating ENGLISH? And who

who were the *Leaders* on theſe important Days? They were ſuch as were *inſpired* and *actuated* by the *generous Love* of GLORY. SECT. VI.

SECT. VII.

Of a national Militia.

" WILL not Cowardice, at leaſt as " ſoon as Courage, part with a Shilling or " a Pound, to avoid Danger? The capi- " tal Queſtion therefore ſtill remains; not " who ſhall *pay*, but who ſhall *fight* *." SECT. VII.

A CAPITAL Queſtion, this, indeed; and hard to be reſolved among a *mercantile* and *effeminate* People. This naturally leads us to conſider what may be expected, feared, or hoped, from the Eſtabliſhment of a national *Militia*. In which Enquiry, the Writer's ſole Intention is, to purſue

* Vol. I. p. 80.

his

SECT. VII. his leading Principles through all their Conſequences; without any Intention of contradicting or offending any Party whatever.

FIRST, An *Engliſh* Militia cannot be ſo *dangerous* now, as in former Times; becauſe the *Commons* are diſcharged from thoſe ſlaviſh military Tenures, which ſo often brought them into the Field, to butcher each other in former Days, at the Command of a *ſeditious* or *revengeful* Lord. HENRY the Seventh, through his Hatred to the Nobility, let in this firſt Dawn of laſting Liberty on the Inhabitants of this Kingdom. The People, though armed, would now want Leaders of Influence, to unite them in Seditious Purpoſes. Therefore the ſudden and ſhort-lived Fury of a Mob, is the worſt that can be feared from this Eſtabliſhment. 'Tis true, an armed Mob is a dreadful Monſter to the *Indivi-*

dual, but cannot riſe into *public* or *treaſonable* Attempts, through want of a uniting Power. SECT. VII.

HENCE, LIVY's fine Deſcription of a "Mob: "Ex ferocibus univerſis, ſingu-"li metu ſuo obedientes."

SECONDLY, The *effeminate* Manners of the Times take away the great *Danger* which formerly aroſe from a free Militia in more warlike Periods.

BUT then, on the other Hand, theſe ſame Reaſons that take away the *Danger*, are fair to deſtroy the *Uſefulneſs* of a Militia. For we ſee, their Danger aroſe from their *Union* and their *Valour*: Now, what is a Militia without theſe two Qualities?

A *Legal Union* indeed may be acquired; more *rational*, though not ſo *powerful* as

SECT. VII. as the *ſlaviſh*. But without national *Valour*, *Union* is a dead and unactive Quality.

If the Principles maintained in this Work be true; the Defect of Valour in a national Militia, will not lie among the *private* Men, but among the *Officers*. And indeed, who can ſeriouſly believe, that thoſe Gentlemen who find the *Attendance* upon a *Quarter-Seſſions* for the Service of their Country, too *ſevere* a Burthen of Duty upon their enervated Bodies and Minds, will vigorouſly undertake and go through the *Dangers* and *Fatigues* of warlike Service?

It muſt therefore be expected as a certain Event, that a Militia will, on its firſt Inſtitution, and for a long Time be *uſeleſs*. But this is not ſaid with a View to diſcourage the Eſtabliſhment, but only to prevent

prevent groundleſs Expectations; which being diſappointed in the firſt Eſtabliſhment of a Militia, might lead the Nation into a Belief, that the Inſtitution could *never* be *uſeful*. SECT. VII.

THIS Circumſtance, therefore, is no Reaſon why a Militia ſhould not be ſet on Foot; but rather a good Reaſon for its ſpeedy Eſtabliſhment: Becauſe the continued *Exerciſe* of a Militia, if undertaken with that *Vigour* and *ſerious Intention* which it deſerves, is perhaps the moſt promiſing means of *re-kindling*, by ſlow Degrees, the *military* Spirit among us.

As a rational Encouragement to the Hopes of the Nation, let us caſt our Eyes back upon former Times, and hear the impartial Judgement of a great Foreigner, who could have no Views to influence his Opinion. "There is ſcarce any Body ig-

"norant

SECT. VII.

"norant, that of late Years the ENGLISH "invaded FRANCE, and entertained no "Soldiers but their own: And yet, tho' "ENGLAND had had no Wars of thirty "Years before, and had neither Officer "nor Soldier who had ever ſeen a Battle, "they ventured to attack a Kingdom "where the Officers were excellent, the "Soldiers good, having been trained up "for ſeveral Years together in the *Italian* "Wars. This proceeded from the Pru-"dence of the Prince, and the Excel-"lence of that Government, in which, "even in Times of Peace, the *Exerciſe* "of *Arms* is *not intermitted* *."

THE main Concluſion I mean to draw from theſe Obſervations, is only this. "The Eſtabliſhment of a Militia muſt

* Mach. Diſc. l. i. c. 21.

"deſtroy

" deſtroy effeminate Manners; or effemi- SECT.
" nate Manners will render uſeleſs a Mi- VII.
" litia."

SECT. VIII.

Farther Remarks on the State of our Armies.

" LAND-OFFICERS in the *Capital*, are SECT.
" occupied in Dreſs, Cards, and Tea; VIII.
" and in Country Towns divide their
" Time between Milleners *Shops* and *Ta-*
" *verns* *."

THIS Abuſe of Leiſure in Time of Peace, hath been one of the leading Cauſes of that Diſgrace, into which the Armies of *Great-Britain* are fallen. On this Subject, as being beyond my Sphere, I will not preſume to inſtruct the military

* Vol. I. p. 101.

Gentle-

SECT. VIII.

Gentlemen of my Country: At leaſt, if I do, it ſhall be on the Authority, and in the Words of a great Writer; who ſpeaking of the proper Employments of a Soldier in Time of Peace, wiſely expreſſeth himſelf as follows.

" He never ought to relax his Thoughts " from the Exerciſes of War; not even " in Time of Peace: And indeed, *then* " he ought to employ his Thoughts more " ſtudiouſly therein, than in War itſelf; " which may be done two Ways, by the " Application of the Body, and of the " Mind. As to his bodily Application, or " Matter of Action;—he ought to inure " himſelf to Sports: And by hunting and " hawking, and ſuch like Recreation, ac- " cuſtom his Body to Hardſhip, Hunger, " and Thirſt: And at the ſame Time in- " form himſelf of the Coaſts and Situa- " tion of the Country; the Size and Ele-

" vation

" vation of the Mountains; the Largeneſs SECT.
" and Avenues of the Valleys; the Ex- VIII.
" tent of the Plains, the Nature of the
" Rivers and Fens, which is to be done
" with great Curioſity. This Knowledge
" is uſeful in two Reſpects: For hereby
" he not only learns to know his own
" Country, and to provide better for its
" Defence; but it prepares and adapts
" him, by obſerving their Situations, to
" comprehend the Situations of other
" Countries, which perhaps may be ne-
" ceſſary for him to explore. For the
" Hills, the Vales, the Plains, the Ri-
" vers, and the Marſhes (for Example) in
" TUSCANY, have a certain Similitude
" and Reſemblance to thoſe in other Pro-
" vinces: So that, by the Knowledge of
" one, we may more eaſily imagine the
" reſt. And he who is defective in this,
" wants the moſt neceſſary Qualification
" for a General: For by knowing the

SECT. VIII.

" Country, he knows how to beat up his " Enemy, take up his Quarters, march " his Troops, draw up his Men, or be- " ſiege a Town with Advantage. In the " Character which Hiſtorians give of " PHILOPOMENES Prince of ACHAIA, one " of his great Commendations is, that in " Time of Peace he ſtudied military Af- " fairs; and when he was in Company " with his Friends in the Country, he " would many Times ſtop ſuddenly, and " expoſtulate with them, " If the Enemy " were upon that Hill, and our Army " where we are, which would have the " Advantage of the Ground? How could " we come at them with moſt Security? " If we would draw off, how might we " do it beſt? Or if they ſhould retreat, " how ſhould we purſue?" So that, as he " was travelling, he would propoſe all " the Accidents to which an Army was " Subject; he would hear their Opinion,

" give

" give them his own, and reinforce it SECT.
" with Arguments: And this he did ſo VIII.
" frequently, that by continual Practice,
" and a conſtant Intention of his Thoughts
" upon that Buſineſs, he brought himſelf
" to that Perfection, that no Accident
" could happen, no Inconvenience could
" occur to an Army, but he could pre-
" ſently redreſs it. But as to the Exer-
" ciſe of the Mind, he is to do that by
" Diligence in Hiſtory*, and ſolemn
" Conſideration of the Actions of the
" moſt excellent Men: By obſerving how
" they demeaned themſelves in War; by
" examining the Grounds and Reaſons of
" their Victories and Loſſes; that he may

* MACHIAVEL is a little incorrect here, in the Diviſion of his Subject: For a great Part of what he had ſaid above is, ſtrictly, an Exerciſe of the Mind, no leſs than the Study of Hiſtory.

SECT. VIII. " be able to avoid the one, and imitate " the other *.

THESE, doubtleſs, are admirable Inſtructions; and followed, as I have been informed, by the greateſt Captain of this, or any other Age: Yet ſuch is the eſtabliſhed Effeminacy, the wretched Affectation of

* MACHIAVEL's Prince, c. 14. He adds another Circumſtance, which perhaps is not ſo certain in its Effects. He ſays, " Above all, he is to keep " cloſe to the Example of ſome great Captain of " old; and not only to make him his Pattern, but " to have all his Actions perpetually in his Mind." Thus, it is true, ALEXANDER did (as it is affirmed) by ACHILLES; CÆSAR by ALEXANDER; SCIPIO by CYRUS. And the Principle was juſt, while the Arms offenſive and defenſive were of the ſame Kind. But the Invention of *Gunpowder* hath wrought ſuch a total Change in Arms, Diſcipline, and the Methods of *Attack* and *Defence*, that an Adherence to the Practice of any ancient Leader would be in Danger of miſguiding, rather than inſtructing any modern Warrior, in the *particulars of Execution:* But in the *general Principles* of *conducting* War and Armies, this Rule may ſtill be applied with Succeſs.

faſhion-

fashionable and trifling Discourse, that now prevails in the Armies of *Great-Britain*, that such a Conduct, though rational and manly in the highest Degree, would be treated with Derision and Contempt. The Writer cannot hope to escape their Ridicule on this Occasion: And doubts not, but he is by this Time set down by most of his military Readers, as a *Pedant* and a *Martinet*. SECT. VIII.

SECT. IX.

The same Subject continued.

IT may, perhaps, be a Question worth resolving, "whether *gross* Vices or *refined* "Vices be more fatal to the Spirit of De-"fence, and to the *Armies* of any State?" The Writer hopes, that no Critic will be so very uncharitable, as to tax him here, with a Vindication of any Vice whatever: SECT. IX.

SECT. IX.

Yet knowing of what Materials the general Herd of Critics are made, he thinks it not amiſs to throw in this Caution. His Reſolution, then, of the Queſtion is, that *refined* and *effeminate* Vices are more fatal to an Army than *groſs* ones. Firſt, Becauſe, when they once catch, they become more general. Secondly, Becauſe they are equally deſtructive of military Application and Capacity, with thoſe of a groſſer Caſt. Thirdly, Becauſe they tend much more than groſs Vices, to deſtroy two of the main Hinges, on which the Spirit of Defence muſt hang: Theſe are *Hardineſs* and *Courage*. Is it neceſſary to confirm this by Facts? The Facts are at Hand. The Armies of this Kingdom were more *groſsly* vicious in Queen ANN's Reign than at preſent. I need not point out the Conſequence.

At

SECT. IX.

AT the ſame Time, let it be acknowledged or aſſerted, that the *perſonal* Character and Conduct of a Man *groſsly* vicious is more *hateful* than of *refined* Vice. Which of theſe two Kinds of Vice are more criminal in a *moral* or *religious* Light, is again a different Queſtion. We keep here, to the leading Point in View, the *Strength* and *Duration* of a State.

AND it is certain (ſuch is the ſtrange Complication of human Circumſtances and Affairs) that with Regard to this, ſeveral Habits, Qualities, and Actions, which ſeem innocent in themſelves, as they affect or influence *private* Life, are equally or more hurtful than others of a more odious Appearance, if we conſider them as they affect the *public* Strength and Welfare. This comes to paſs, becauſe the ill Conſequences of ſome Actions are *immediate*;

SECT. IX.

of others, more *diſtant*. The firſt ſtrike the *Imagination*, and are ſeen by all: The latter muſt be traced up to their Cauſes by the Uſe of *Reaſon*; and to do this, exceeds the Talents of the many. Hence an unequal Judgment often ariſeth, concerning moral and political Good or Evil, the *comparative* Merit or Demerit of Actions and Men. Many of the pernicious Effects of Luxury and Effeminacy fall under this Obſervation: And hence came the poor and wretched Reaſonings of two Champions of Luxury and Effeminacy *, whoſe Principles will be examined in a proper Place.

SECT. X.

Additional Thoughts on the Navy.

SECT. X.

" SEA-OFFICERS, even in Time of " War, inſtead of annoying the Enemy's

* Doctor MANDEVILLE, and Mr. DAVID HUME.

" Fleets, are chiefly buſied in the gainful " Trade of catching Prizes *." SECT. X.

THERE is little Danger, as yet, of the Body of our Fleets being Effeminate: Their way of Life ſecures them from it. There is a natural Ferocity of Manners attending the Sea-Service, which would always preſerve itſelf, were it not quelled by the Contagion of effeminate Example. The Danger, therefore, ariſeth from the *Commanders*, whoſe preſent falſe Ambition and Way of Life naturally leads them to Effeminacy.

IT is remarkable in our Navy, (what the Writer ſpeaks, he knows to be Fact) that the young Men bread to the Sea Service, ſo long as their Converſation lies among the *inferior* Ranks in their Ship,

* Vol. I. p. 101.

retain

SECT. X.

retain or acquire the *Spirit* of *Engliſh* Sailors; that is, they grow brave, hardy, and intrepid. But no ſooner do they riſe to the Rank of *Captains*, but the Example of the Times infects them: Falſe *Elegance* and effeminate *Parade* take Place: *French* Cooks and Valets are ſought after: The Commander of the Ship becomes a *Sultan*, who lives in idle State, and hath his Duty done by his *Vizir*, his *Firſt Lieutenant*. Time was, when Matters went otherwiſe; and the Nation feels the Difference.

AT the ſame Time, it were Injuſtice to the *Navy*, not to acknowledge, that there are Men in this Department who have done Honour to themſelves and their Country; and others riſing into Name, who, with due *Encouragement* and *Diſtinction* given, bid fair to retrieve the Glory of the *Britiſh Flag*.

THE Act which gave the *Prize* to the *Captors*, had manifeſtly a bad Tendency:

In every particular Caſe, it was an Allurement to draw off the Captains from the *Duty* of their Country, to the deſpicable Views of *Privateering*. A worſe Effect than this was, it's ſetting up a falſe and fatal Principle, the Love of *Money*, inſtead of the Love of *Glory* or of *Duty*. Rational and true is the Obſervation of a late political Writer: "We have deſtroyed the Principle, which was the Source of our Glory. We have miſguided the Ambition of our Seamen; we have tempted them with *Wealth* inſtead of *Reputation*; and we have ſubſtituted *Avarice* to *Honour* *." SECT. X.

THESE are manifeſt Tendencies to *Ill*; and are generally ſuppoſed to have brought upon our Fleets this ſordid Spirit of *Prize-catching*: But the Writer is of a different Opinion. This Act ſeems to have been, not ſo much the *Cauſe*, as the *Conſequence*, of

* Letter, by a Country Gentleman.

the

SECT. X.

the preſent *Rapacity* and *Profuſion*. In a virtuous and diſintereſted Period, as there would have been no Neceſſity for it, ſo if it had taken Place, it would have had no Effect: The Reward propoſed would not have drawn off a brave and diſintereſted Commander from his Duty. But, I apprehend, they who propoſed this Act, ſeeing and knowing what was the *ruling* Spirit of the *Times*, imagined it more for the Benefit of the Public, that our Fleets ſhould fight for *Gain*, than *not at all*.

THE Truth therefore ſeems to be, that tho' the Act hath a bad Tendency; yet it cannot be ſaid to have created, tho' it hath certainly increaſed the ſelfiſh Spirit of the Navy. An ill *Act*, like an ill *Citizen*, can do no great Harm, but in an *ill-diſpoſed City*.

How different were both the Conduct and the Police of the ROMANS? Who, inſtead

ſtead of filling the *private* Purſes of their *Leaders*, made it a Circumſtance of *Infamy*, if, upon their Return from War, they did not enrich the *Coffers* of the *Republic*: Inſomuch, that at length it came to paſs, that no *Conſul* was permitted to Triumph, who had not firſt put a vaſt Quantity of Silver or Gold, or ſome other valuable Commodity, into the PUBLIC TREASURY. SECT. X.

SECT. XI.

Of the Marine Society.

SINCE therefore the Degeneracy of our Fleet ariſeth evidently from the Commanders: this naturally leads me to ſay ſomething on the Inſtitution of the "*Marine* "*Society*;" and to conſider what *may*, or may not be expected from it. SECT. XI.

THE

SECT. XI. THE Inſtitution is humane, praiſe-worthy, and excellent, in two Reſpects.

FIRST, It reſcues a Number of wretched *Boys* from *Crimes* and *Miſery*; and the *Public* from the *Effects* which theſe *Crimes* and that *Miſery* would have produced.

SECONDLY, It tends to alleviate that great Evil of *preſſing* Men for the Sea-Service.

BUT notwithſtanding theſe good Effects, it muſt not be expected, that this Inſtitution, laudable and humane as it is, will ever raiſe our *Fleets* into their former *Credit*; becauſe it can only affect and ſtrengthen the *Body* of the Fleet, and not the Manners, Principles, and Conduct of the *Commanders*.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Farther Conſiderations on the National Spirit of Union.

SECT. XII.

"MONTESQUIEU hath often given it as "his Opinion, that Factions are not only "natural, but neceſſary to free Govern-"ments *." This Opinion was criticiſed, and ſhewn to be in ſome Senſe *erroneous*, becauſe too *general*. It is only taken Notice of here, with a View to obſerve, that the celebrated Author borrowed this Opinion, with many other important Obſervations in his Book, from MACHIAVEL's Diſcourſes on LIVY †. But in Juſtice to the ſagacious FLORENTINE, we muſt obſerve, that *he* limits the Obſervation to the Times in which public Spirit was predominant; whereas the other great Writer ex-

* Vol. I. p. 104. † Vol. I. l. i. c. 4.

tends

SECT. XII. tends it to the later Periods, when ſelfiſh Ambition had quenched the Love of their Country; and hence aroſe his Error.

As theſe two Authors, in the Writer's Opinion, poſſeſs the higheſt Station in the political Scale; it may be worth while to give a *comparative* Sketch of their different *Characters*.

MACHIAVEL, born and bred in tumultuous and profligate Times, and occupied in the Affairs of a diſtempered Republic, caught his firſt Principles of Politics from what he *ſaw*. MONTESQUIEU, more happy in his Birth and Fortune, enjoying an early Leiſure, in a quiet and well-regulated Monarchy, drew his firſt Principles of Politics from what he *read*. Yet neither was the *firſt* given up to mere perſonal *Obſervation*; nor the laſt, to mere *Study*: In the Progreſs of Life, MACHIAVEL applied

plied himſelf to *Books*, and MONTESQUIEU to *Men*: Yet, as was natural, their firſt Habits *prevailed*, and gave to *each* his diſtinct and peculiar *Character*. SECT. XII.

HENCE, tho' *both* ſaw the internal and ſecret Springs of Government, (which, in my Opinion, no Writer, but theſe two, did ever fully comprehend or penetrate) yet they ſaw them by different *Lights*, and thro' different *Mediums*. MACHIAVEL's leading *Guide*, was *Fact*; MONTESQUIEU's was *Philoſophy*. In Conſequence of this, *Simplicity* forms the Character of the *one*, *Refinement* that of the *other*. The ſpeculative FRENCHMAN forms a fine *Syſtem*, to the Completion of which, he ſometimes *tortures* both *Argument* and *Fact*: The plain and downright FLORENTINE builds on *Facts*, independent of all *Syſtem*. The polite and diſintereſted *Sage* is warm in the *Praiſe* of *Honeſty*: The active and pene-

SECT. XII.

trating *Secretary*, above Praiſe or Cenſure, gives a bold and ſtriking Picture of the *Ways of Men*. Hence, while the firſt gains every *Heart*, by the Force of *moral* Sympathy, the latter hath been falſely *deteſted*, as the *Enemy* of Virtue and Mankind. MACHIAVEL is *negligent*, yet pure and *ſtrong*, ſcorning the *minuter Graces* of Compoſition: MONTESQUIEU is *elegant*, yet *nervous*; and to the *Acuteneſs* of the *Philoſopher*, often adds the *Fire* of the *Poet*. *Both* were the Friends of Freedom, and of Man: Both *ſuperior* to the *Genius* of their *Time* and *Country*: Both, truly *great*: The FLORENTINE *ſevere* and *great*; the FRENCHMAN, *great* and *amiable*.

" THEREFORE, before we can deter-
" mine, whether the Factions that divide
" a free Country be ſalutary or dangerous,
" it is neceſſary to know what is their
" Foundation and their Object: If they
" ariſe

" ariſe from Freedom of Opinion, and SECT. XII.
" aim at the public Welfare, they are ſa-
" lutary: If their Source be ſelfiſh Inter-
" eſt, of what Kind ſoever, they are
" then dangerous and deſtructive *." I cannot give a better Comment on this Truth, than in the Words of BOLINGBROKE. " As long as the Spirit of Li-
" berty prevailed, a *Roman* ſacrificed his
" own, and therefore, no Doubt, every
" other perſonal Intereſt, to the Intereſt of
" the Commonwealth: When the latter
" ſucceeded (the Spirit of Faction) the In-
" tereſt of the Commonwealth was con-
" ſidered no otherwiſe, than in Subordi-
" nation to that *particular* Intereſt, which
" each Perſon had eſpouſed. The prin-
" cipal Men, inſtead of making their
" Grandeur and Glory conſiſt, as they
" formerly had done, in that which the

* Vol. I. p. 106.

SECT. XII.

" Grandeur and Glory of the Common-
" wealth reflected on them, conſidered
" themſelves now as *Individuals*, not as
" *Citizens*; and each would ſhine with his
" own Light. To this Purpoſe alone they
" employed the Commands they had of
" Armies, the Government of Provinces,
" and the Influence they acquired over the
" Tribes at ROME, and over the Allies
" and Subjects of the Republic. Upon
" Principles of the ſame Kind, inferior
" Perſons attached themſelves to theſe;
" and that Zeal and Induſtry, nay that
" Courage and Magnanimity, which had
" been exerted formerly in the Service of
" the Commonwealth, were exerted by
" the Spirit of Faction, for MARIUS or
" SYLLA, for CÆSAR or POMPEY *."

So ſtands the Caſe, with Regard to the *general* Foundations of *Faction*, in moſt

* Remarks on the Hiſtory of *England*, Letter II.

" Times

Times and Countries. But there is another Source of Faction, of which we have had moſt fatal Inſtances in our own Country, diſtinct both from that of public Spirit and ſelfiſh Intereſt: I mean that of *erroneous Conſcience*; when the *unalienable Right* of governing is ſuppoſed to be inherent in any particular Man, or Race of Men. This, though it hath not the *Nature*, hath moſt of the *Conſequences* of *ſelfiſh Faction*; and is attended with this additional Evil, that as it is founded in *Principle*, it is more *ſteady* and *reſolved*. The Civil Wars which rent the Kingdom during the Contentions between the Houſes of YORK and LANCASTER, were of this Kind. Of this Kind too, in good Meaſure, were the Civil Wars, in which CHARLES the Firſt periſhed: And of this Kind, altogether, have been the conſequent Rebellions againſt the eſtabliſhed Government. This Diſtinction, however, SECT. XII.

SECT. XII. must be remarked in Favour of the free Spirit and Senſe of the *Lancaſtrians* and *Yorkiſts*, beyond that of the *Stuart* Party; that theſe laſt pant for *Thraldom* and *Chains*; but among both the former, the ſame Men who would have *died* for their reſpective *Kings*, would have *died* for the *Laws* and the *Liberty* of their Country.

SECT. XIII.

The ſame Subject continued.

SECT. XIII. LET us now proceed to conſider more particularly the Cauſes that have weakened or deſtroyed the national Spirit of Union, ſince the great Revolution, which took Place on the Abdication of JAMES the Second.

IT hath been one of the Writer's main Intentions, in the Progreſs of this Work,

to

to point out the natural *Weakneſſes* and De- SECT.
fects of a *free* Syſtem of Government: XIII.
He did not at firſt apprehend, that any Apology could be neceſſary for this Conduct, becauſe he thought it a clear Point, that the more evidently theſe *Weakneſſes* and *Defects* were *explained*, their proper *Guards* and preventive *Securities* would with the greater Care and Caution be *applied*. Hence he freely expatiated on the Dangers attending a Diſſolution of Manners and Principles; hence he hath freely ſet forth the natural Stability of *Popery* beyond that of *Proteſtantiſm*; hence he freely explained the natural Inconveniencies that aroſe even from ſuch a great Event, as that of the *Revolution* in eighty eight. This, and more, he hath done, that his Countrymen, being aware of the *Delicacy* of that fine *Structure*, which is at once the Pride and Security of its Owners, might uſe all timely Expedients, to maintain its

SECT. XIII.

Foundations in their original Strength, and not expoſe themſelves to the dreadful Calamities in which its *Fall* muſt involve them.

BUT ſee the Conſequence: Becauſe he had affirmed, that, under an arbitrary Government, the Spirit of Union was naturally *ſtrong*, he hath from thence had the Imputation laid upon him, of being a Friend to arbitrary Government: Becauſe he pointed out a new Principle of Faction, which *naturally aroſe* from the *Revolution*, he hath been accuſed, as an *Enemy* to that *Revolution*: Becauſe he had aſſerted, that the *Abuſe* of *Freedom* had deſtroyed religious Principle, he hath been miſcalled an ill *Wiſher* to *Freedoom* itſelf. So blind are theſe QUIXOTS in their Adoration of *Liberty*, that they accuſe her Phyſician of *Diſaffection* to the favourite *Fair*, merely becauſe he declares her to be *mortal*; tho' at

at the ſame Time he holds forth the *Medi-* SECT.
cines that might *prolong* her *Life.* XIII.

BUT though he hath Candour enough to believe, that in ſome, theſe Accuſations ariſe from ſincere Belief, founded in narrow and miſtaken Views of Politics; yet he hath ample Grounds to ſuſpect, that in others, Inſinuations of this Kind have ſprung from the Leaven of Malice and Wickedneſs, working in its uſual Way, againſt every Thing that is free, fair, and honeſt. The next Charge againſt him will probably be founded in what he hath ſaid on the Genius of *Popery* and *Proteſtantiſm:* Nor will he be much ſurprized, if thoſe who naturally rail at what they cannot anſwer, ſhould blacken him with the Infamy of being a *Papiſt* in his *Heart.*

IN

SECT. XIII. In the mean Time, he turns his Back on their Iniquity, and proceeds to his appointed Taſk.

From the Reſtraints laid on the Royal Prerogative at the Revolution, and the Power of Parliaments which naturally aroſe from theſe Reſtraints, together with the ſelfiſh and lucrative Views, to the Gratification of which theſe Parliaments ſoon began to proſtitute their growing Power, he drew this Conſequence. "William "the Third, found this to be the national "Turn; and ſet himſelf, like a Politi- "cian, to oppoſe it: He therefore ſilenced "all he could, by Places or Penſions: "And hence the Origin of making "Parliaments."

This, the Writer is informed, hath been perverſely miſinterpreted into a Satire on

on King WILLIAM. He therefore thinks it neceſſary to explain himſelf. SECT. XIII.

WHEN therefore it is ſaid, "Hence the "Origin of making Parliaments," it is not meant, that ſuch Attempts had never been made before. There is hardly a Period in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, but would give the Lye to ſuch an Aſſertion. From an Examination of ancient Times it would appear, that the Practice (as was natural) was always moſt *frequent* when the Government was *weakeſt*: When the Power and Prerogative of the Crown were high, the deſired Effects were wrought without *making Parliaments*. Therefore the evident Meaning of the Paſſage is this, that the Practice of making Parliaments was now firſt laid down as a *neceſſary Principle* of Government; and this was the neceſſary Conſequence of *leſſening* the

SECT. XIII. *Prerogative*, where *Parliaments* were *ſelfiſh*.

IN WILLIAM the Third therefore, it ſeemed an Act of Neceſſity: At leaſt, he judged it ſuch, and was heartily tired of it. Inſomuch that the Perverſeneſs of his Parliaments, ariſing from *factious* Conduct, founded in *ſelfiſh* and *lucrative* Views, had well nigh tempted him to quit his Throne, to return to his native Country.

WE ſee then, that this Principle of *Faction* was a *natural* Defect, ariſing from a *noble Change* in the Conſtitution: Evils infinitely greater were taken away: A general Change of political Principles, with all their various Conſequences, was the natural Effect of that Revolution. The *Defects* (or rather Evils) of an *arbitrary* Government *ceaſed*: The *Defects* of a *free* Government *aroſe*: And it is the main Pur-

Purpoſe of this Eſtimate, to point out and reſiſt *theſe*. SECT. XIII.

" Shires and Boroughs, which in for-
" mer Times had paid their Repreſenta-
" tives for their Attendance in Parliament,
" were now the great Objects of Requeſt,
" and political Struggle *."

THE following Anecdotes, in Illuſtration of the Progreſs of the Evil here ſpoken of, were given to the Writer, by a learned Friend, whoſe Profeſſion leads him to Enquiries of this Nature.

IT hath long been debated among the learned in the Antiquities of this Kingdom, at what Time the Privilege of the *Commons of England*, to ſhare in the *Legiſlative* Power, firſt commenced; ſome placing its Origin as high as the earlieſt Ages of the *Saxon*

* Vol. I. p. 110.

Monar-

SECT. XIII.

Monarchy; others reducing it to the latter End of the Reign of EDWARD I. There is a Mixture of Truth in both Opinions.—For it is moſt probable, that the Commons of *England*, who were *Proprietors* of Land, had always ſome Share in the Legiſlature. And at the ſame Time it is moſt certain, that this Right was not reduced to the regular Form it now aſſumes, till the latter Period.

HOWEVER important this Privilege may now appear, it was not for a long Time after the Reign of EDWARD I. thought of any great Value, or much ſought after; as appears by the great Neglect of Attendance in Parliament in the latter End of the Reign of EDWARD III. and the Beginning of RICHARD II. which was then ſo remarkable, that it was found neceſſary to enforce it by an Act of Parliament, which

required

required Attendance, under Pain of A- SECT.
mercement. XIII.

IT is an old Obſervation, that formerly " the Intereſt of Parliament was never " more predominant, than when Kings " wanted Title or Age." Hence the Commons firſt began to find their Importance in the Reign of RICHARD II. and continued to increaſe it during the Reigns of HENRY IV. HENRY VI. and HENRY VII. In Conſequence of this, it became neceſſary to regulate Elections; the firſt Statute relating to which was made in the Reign of HENRY IV. From this period, Endeavours were uſed to make Parliaments ſubſervient to the Views of the ruling Party, and their Importance in thoſe Days aroſe, or fell, in Proportion to the Occaſions ſuch Party had for their Authority.

SECT. XIII.

As the Times were tumultuous till the Union of the Houſes of YORK and LANCASTER, it was common before that Period for *Sheriffs* to omit or excuſe the not making Returns for ſeveral of the Boroughs within their Counties. Sometimes giving for Reaſon of their Omiſſion, that the other Boroughs were not able to ſend any Burgeſſes becauſe of their *Poverty* or *Inability*; which was never then complained of, or objected to, by the Boroughs themſelves; though ſeveral Acts of Parliament had been made to compel the Sheriffs to make Returns for all the Boroughs: Nay, ſeveral of the Boroughs after they had once or twice ſent up their Repreſentatives, found the Burthen too great, and *procured* perpetual *Exemptions* which remain to this Day. How differently do we value this Right at preſent? When no Price is thought too great for the Purchaſe of a Borough;

and

and no Family, how ancient or honourable ſoever, of any Conſequence, but in Proportion to theſe modern Poſſeſſions? SECT. XIII.

MARK the uniform Effects of the ſame Principles and Cauſes, working at the Diſtance of two thouſand Years. "The Conſulſhip, or any other Office or Dignity, "was never conferred by the People of "ROME, upon any body but by formal Application: Which Cuſtom was originally "very good; becauſe none ſought for them, "who was conſcious of being unfit; foraſmuch as to be repulſed, was a diſhonourable Thing; and to make himſelf *fit*, every Man choſe to be *virtuous*. But afterwards, the Manners of the People "growing ſo fatally corrupt, this Cuſtom "loſt its primitive Convenience, and became not only uſeleſs, but pernicious: "For they who had moſt Power, not they "who had moſt Virtue and Capacity,

SECT. XIII.

" pretended to the Magiſtracy; the Poor " and the Virtuous not daring to appear, " for fear of a Repulſe. But this Incon- " venience, like the City itſelf, was not " the Product of a Day: It ſtole into the " Commonwealth, lay concealed, increaſ- " ed, and exerted itſelf by Degrees, as " all other Inconveniences do.—Security, " and an unhappy Scarcity of Enemies, " was the Occaſion, that, in their Creation " of Conſuls, the People of ROME began " to regard *Riches* and *Favour* more than " *Ability* and *Virtue*; preferring ſuch Per- " ſons as could entertain and treat People " handſomely, to ſuch as were grave, and " could only conquer their Enemies: " Afterwards, from thoſe who were moſt " plauſible, they came down, and created " ſuch as were moſt powerful; ſo that " Perſons of *Virtue* and *Capacity* were *to- " tally excluded* *."

* Machiavel's Diſc. l. i. c. 18.

THE Writer proceeds: "It hath been SECT. XIII.
"much debated, whether the *Miniſters*
"or the *People* have contributed more to
"the Eſtabliſhment of this Syſtem of
"Self-Intereſt and Faction *." Here is an Error, in Expreſſion at leaſt. In Juſtice to the Body of the *Britiſh* People it muſt be remarked, that by the *People* was, or ought to have been meant, chiefly the higher Ranks of the Nation; except only in *Boroughs*, where the Corruption, here ſpoken of, runs down through the loweſt of the People.

"ON Enquiry it would probably ap-
"pear, that at different Periods the Pen-
"dulum hath ſwung at large on both
"Sides: It came down in former Times,
"from the Miniſter to the Repreſentative,

* Vol. I. p. 112.

SECT. XIII.

" &c.—In later Times, the Impulſe ſeems " to have been chiefly in the contrary " Direction, &c. *." ——Theſe Changes followed each other according to the natural Operation of Cauſes and Effects: But tho' the Writer ſhewed their general Progreſs, yet he did it not with that Particularity of Circumſtance, which ſo intereſting a Subject deſerves.

He apprehends, therefore, that there have been three eſſential Changes of Principle, in the Progreſs of this great and ruling Evil. It *began* from the *Crown*, at the *Revolution*, from a Principle of *Neceſſity*: It was *continued*, by ſucceeding Miniſters, and brought to its Criſis by ONE Miniſter, on a Principle of ſuppoſed *Prudence*: It hath ſince been *continued* on a Principle of ſuppoſed *Neceſſity* again: but

* Vol. I. ibid.

that

that ſuppoſed Neceſſity hath had a Foundation different from that which took Place at the Revolution. For that *firſt* Neceſſity aroſe from the State of the Times, when a new modelled Government, like a new planted Tree, had not yet taken Root in the Minds of the People; and therefore the Storms of Parliamentary Faction were of more dangerous Conſequence to its Riſe and Growth. But after this Syſtem of Self-Intereſt had been rivetted by *one Miniſter*, in the Minds of the People, and the *higher Ranks* throughout the Nation, and all Men of *all* Ranks in *Boroughs*, were taught to expect and demand the utmoſt Penny for their Vote or Intereſt; then it was, that a new Kind of Neceſſity commenced; and ſucceeding Miniſters, honeſt in their Wiſhes and Intent, were ſeemingly *compelled* to *that* which their Predeceſſor had *voluntarily* eſtabliſhed. SECT. XIII.

SECT. XIV.

Remarks on the Conduct of a famous Miniſter.

SECT. XIV.

"THERE was a noted Miniſter in this "Kingdom, whoſe Character, perhaps, "might be drawn in theſe few Words, "that while he ſeemed to ſtrengthen the "Superſtructure, he weakened the Foun-"dations of our Conſtitution *."

THE Writer underſtands, that ſome Offence hath been taken at what he affirmed in general Terms, concerning this Miniſter: He therefore thinks it neceſſary to explain himſelf more particularly: Not, indeed, with any *intereſted* Views of pleaſing any *Party*; becauſe he apprehends, that his Sentiments concerning this Miniſter,

* Vol. I. p. 114, 115.

Miniſter, are *different* from thoſe of both his *Friends* and *Enemies.* SECT. XIV.

THE real Faults of his Miniſtry ought the rather to be delineated, becauſe many Men of *Senſe* and *Worth*, *admire* and *maintain* his Syſtem: And finding that he was charged with Deſigns he never formed, they have thence inferred, I ſuppoſe, that he was therefore *blameleſs*.

HIS Friends are generally accounted, and ſome of them I know *are*, the real Friends of Liberty: To *theſe* it cannot be unacceptable, *freely* and FAIRLY to examine the Nature of his Adminiſtration. If we are curbed in this Point of Enquiry, our Liberty is loſt in its moſt eſſential Circumſtance. Nor ſurely can it be taken amiſs in that Nation, to criticiſe a *dead Miniſter*, where every Man with Impunity can inſult the LIVING GOD.

SECT. XIV. IN this Enquiry, therefore, two Things will appear remarkable: One, that his Enemies, in their Diſcourſes, Speeches, and Writings, charged him with Things he was not guilty of: The other, that what was really pernicious in his Syſtem, *that* they totally overlooked; and would not, or could not ſee.

1*ſt*, THEREFORE, It is not true, that this Miniſter corrupted the Nation: He found it corrupted to his Hand. It is not in the Power of any *one* Man to taint an upright People. He may put the Wheels in Motion, but cannot create a general Change: His Life is too ſhort, and unequal to the Effect.

2*dly*, IT is not true, that he ever formed any Deſign to inſlave his Country. He did not wiſh *ſo ill* to his Country. More than

than this: His Genius was *peaceful*, and never led him to this blind and ambitious Project: For he had Senſe enough to know, that ſo daring a Deſign could never be executed, without involving the Nation in the Horrors of a *civil War*. SECT. XIV.

THESE are the atrocious Crimes, with one or both of which he hath been falſely charged by his Enemies. Let us now conſider the real Genius and Faults of his Adminiſtration.

1. IN his private Character, he was *amiable* and *friendly*. Yet even this private Character may juſtly be regarded as a main Foundation of thoſe Defects, which blotted his Miniſtry. For,

2. HE carried his domeſtic and friendly Attachments into public Life; and for the Advantage of *Individuals* whom he

SECT. XIV.

he *loved*, often ſacrificed the Intereſts of that *Public* which he neither *loved* nor *hated:* For his Affections were of the common and confined Kind, and never reached ſo far as to comprehend his *Country*.

3. THOUGH he had no natural Inclination to corrupt Practices, yet he rather choſe to rule by *theſe*, than to reſign his Power. This Conduct was founded in his Temper too: He preferred the immediate Intereſt of his Friends, to the future and diſtant Welfare of his Country.

4. His *Genius* for Government was of a *confined* Nature; and therefore it may be unfair to charge his Intentions with all the Conſequences of his Adminiſtration. Tho' he had an acute Eye, ſo far as its Sphere extended, yet that Sphere was but narrow. He ſaw Things in their immediate, but not

in

in their remote Effects. He regarded Wealth, as the ſole Fountain of national Power, Strength, and Stability: He did not foreſee its Influence and Effects. But let me add, that if he had foreſeen them, I do not think his Regard to the Public was ſtrong enough to have determined him to a contrary Syſtem, againſt the natural Bent of his own partial and confined Affections. SECT. XIV.

5. THE Conſequence of this narrow Ability and Turn of Mind was, the utter Neglect of the Manners and Principles of the Nation, and of all thoſe counterworking *Checks*, which ought to be laid upon a People that is *growing* in Trade, Wealth, and Luxury.

6. NAY, on the contrary, he forwarded the Growth of theſe pernicious Manners and Principles: Not through the natural

SECT. XIV.

tural Love of Vice; but becauſe he ſaw them favourable to that Parliament Influence, without which he found he could not both gratify his favourite Ends, and maintain himſelf in Power.

THUS, while Trade and Wealth, the grand *Incentives* to *Vice*, increaſed; he neglected, nay diſcouraged the Care of ſalutary Manners and Principles, the only effectual *Checks* to *Vice*. Thus, while he *enriched Individuals*, he made his *Country poor*. Inſtead of uſing his Power, in filling every public Office and Department with Men of Ability and Virtue, he ſacrificed Ability and Virtue to Views of Parliament Influence. Thus he eſtabliſhed corrupt Principles with a View to ſtrengthen Faction in ſupport of the Crown, till thoſe very Principles have become a Burthen upon the Crown itſelf: Thus by unnatural and forced Applications, he gave a temporary Motion

Motion to the Wheels of State; while the the natural, and internal Maſter-Springs of Government were loſing their Elaſticity and Power: And thus he greatly contributed to reduce us to that State of political *Diſſolution* and *Non-Entity*, under which we groan at preſent. SECT. XIV.

THIS, according to the Writer's Apprehenſion, is a true Delineation of the Genius of his Miniſtry. And thus, "while "he ſeemed to ſtrengthen the Superſtruc-"ture, he weakened the Foundations of "our Conſtitution."

SECT. XV.

A Reflection on the future Effects of Parliamentary Influence on the Balance of Power.

"BUT what an Aggravation of this "Evil would ariſe, ſhould ever thoſe of "the SECT. XV.

SECT. XV.

" the higheſt Rank inſult the Genius of
" the Conſtitution, by ſolliciting Votes, or
" procuring others to ſollicit them; by in-
" fluencing Elections in an avowed De-
" fiance of their Country, and even ſelling
" vacant Seats in Parliament to the beſt
" Bidder *?"

THE Writer apprehends, there is a dreadful Evil ready to burſt upon this Kingdom, which hath not yet diſcloſed itſelf; but will ſoon come to a Criſis, if not checked with Speed and Vigour. This he will take the Liberty to explain with *Candour*. Yet *Prudence* whiſpers him, on this Occaſion, to ſpeak with *Caution*. But though, on this Account, his *Expreſſions* may be *indirect*, he will take Care that his *Meaning* ſhall be *clear*.

* Vol. I. p. 129.

THE

SECT. XV.

THE Danger which threatened our Conſtitution, by a too violent Exertion of the Prerogative, under the Reigns of the STUARTS, hath long ceaſed. Nevertheleſs, the Convulſions it occaſioned in 1641, will not ſpeedily be forgotten: Nor ought the Miſchiefs and Confuſions ariſing from a Democracy, raiſed on the Deſtruction of the regal and ariſtocratic Powers, to be ſlightly reflected on. This Period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory cannot be too much attended to.

IT is generally apprehended now, that our Conſtitution is again leaning towards a Democracy: The Privilege of raiſing Money, which is veſted in the Commons, gives that Houſe ſo great a Weight in all Determinations of Importance, that the Crown and the Houſe of Lords ſeem but as

SECT. XV. as Feathers put in the Scale againſt Heaps of Gold.

How far this *ſeeming* State of Things may be ſupported by *Reality* and *Fact*, is a Point too *delicate* for the Writer to determine. Yet, notwithſtanding the Privilege veſted in the Commons, of commanding the Purſes of their Conſtituents, it is not difficult to point a Situation, where this Privilege would be nothing but a *Name*. And as in the laſt Century, the regal and democratic Branches by turns bore down the Conſtitution, ſo, in ſuch a Situation as is here *ſuppoſed*, the real Danger, tho' hidden, would lurk in the *Ariſtocratic* Branch; which would be ſecretly bearing down the Power both of the King and People.

THE Matter may be explained in a ſmall Compaſs. Cannot we put a Caſe, in

in which, the Parliamentary Intereſt of the great Nobility might ſwallow up the Houſe of Commons? Members might be elected indeed; and elected in Form too. But by whom might they really be elected? By the free Voice of the People? No impartial Man would ſay it. It were eaſy to ſuppoſe thirty or forty Men of high Quality and Power, who, if united, might go nigh to command a *Majority* in the *lower* Houſe. The Members of that Houſe might ſeem to be the Repreſentatives of the People: But would be in Truth, a great Part of them, no more than the commiſſioned Deputies of their reſpective Chiefs, whoſe Sentiments they would give, and whoſe Intereſts they would purſue. SECT. XV.

THUS, while Power would, in Appearance, be centering in the lower Houſe,

SECT. XV.

it would in reality be lurking in the higher.

THIS State of Things, ſhould it come to paſs, might not perhaps reſult from any Deſign in the Ariſtocratic Branch, to deſtroy the Conſtitution. They might have no farther Views than thoſe of Gain, Vanity, or Pleaſure. Notwithſtanding this, their Conduct might have thoſe Effects, which their Intentions never aſpired to; though their own Ruin might be the final Conſequence. Let us conſider the moſt probable Effects.

THE firſt fatal Effect that offers itſelf to Obſervation is, that the Conciouſneſs of ſuch an increaſing and exorbitant Power, which the Lords might acquire in the Houſe of Commons, would *deſtroy* all honeſt *Ambition* in the younger *Gentry*. They would know, that the utmoſt Point

they could hope to arrive at, would only be to become the *Deputy* of ſome great Lord in a County or Borough. All the Intentions of ſuch a Poſt can be anſwered by Ignorance and Servility, better than by Genius and public Spirit. People of the latter Stamp, therefore, would not naturally be appointed to the Taſk: And this, once known, would check the Growth of Genius and public Spirit throughout the Nation. The few Men of Ability and Spirit that might be left, ſeeing this to be the Caſe, would naturally betake themſelves to ſuch private Amuſements as a free Mind can honeſtly enjoy. All Hope, and therefore by Degrees, all Deſire, of ſerving their Country would be extinguiſhed. SECT. XV.

Thus, honeſt Ambition would naturally and generally be quenched. But even where Ambition *continued*, it would

SECT. XV.

be *perverted*. Not *uſeful*, but *ſervile* Talents would be applauded; and the ruling Pride would be, not that of *Freemen*, but of *Slaves*.

THESE Effects would be bad: But there would be worſe in Store. The *Nobility*, by this blind Conduct, would pave the Way for their own Deſtruction. It might be impoſſible, abſolutely to foretell future Events; but what follows, ſeems to be according to the natural Progreſs of Cauſes and Effects.

IT is a known and trite Obſervation, that Power follows Property. Whoever examines in whoſe Hands the Weight of Property in this Nation is lodged, will find it to be in the Poſſeſſion of the Commons. And although a few ambitious Lords ſhould even engroſs a Majority of Counties and Boroughs; (the laſt, more generally, are within their Reach) yet theſe Men would not from hence become

poſſeſſed of the Property of thoſe Countries, nor therefore of the Weight and Influence which naturally follows it; and which, if it is deprived of its proper and legal Exertion, will break forth in illegal and ſeditious Attempts. 'Tis eaſy to foreſee, what would be the End of ſuch Meaſures, when purſued to Extremity. What elſe, but the Deſtruction of all Friendſhip and good Correſpondence between the higher and lower Ranks of the Nation, which hath hitherto been ſupported by their mutual Want of each others Aid? SECT. XV.

Now ſuppoſe this mutual Friendſhip and Dependance to be deſtroyed by theſe pernicious Meaſures, and then conſider the Conſequence. The People would be eaſily perſuaded, that they have nothing left, but an expenſive Shadow of their former Conſtitution: That the greateſt Part of their Property is ſpent in ſupporting a

SECT. XV.

new Syſtem, built on the Ruins of their former Privileges: That the Nation would be better ſerved, the Expence of Government leſs burthenſome, if the Prince were left without the Controul of a Parliament, and from himſelf ſhould appoint ſuch Perſons as are beſt qualified for the Poſts they are to fill; and ſuppreſs ſuch Offices as would be found uſeleſs and expenſive, and of no Conſequence to any but the Poſſeſſors.

SOMETHING of this Kind muſt inevitably happen, if ever the Power of the Lords ſhould make its Way into the lower Houſe: And let a private Man dare to ſay, that it will *become* the GREAT, who *ought* to be well read in Hiſtory, to reflect on what happened in the *Roman* State. *There*, the *Patricians*, while they maintained their proper Character of ſuperior Wiſdom, Valour, and Love of their Country

try (the only Characteriſtics of true Nobility) enjoyed their Power and Privileges, unmoleſted by the People. But when theſe noble Qualities were ſunk in mean Views and ſelfiſh Attachments; when degenerate Manners and Luſt of Power among the Leaders of the State, had deſtroyed the Rights of Election; *then*, even *Prætors* and *Conſuls* became the mere Creatures of DICTATORS and TRIUMVIRS: Theſe calamitous Events, after a few unſucceſsful Struggles of expiring Freedom, terminated in an *arbitary Monarchy*; under which, the *ancient Nobility* were in no Reſpect *diſtinguiſhed*, but by the ſuperior *Calamities*, in which the Cruelty of their Emperors involved them: SECT. XV.

LET us now come nearer Home, and from ancient to modern Times; where we ſhall ſee ſimilar Cauſes producing ſimilar Effects.

SECT. XV.

THE State of SCOTLAND, (till the *Union* took Place, and the heretable Juriſdictions were aboliſhed by the Influence of one, to whoſe Wiſdom and Integrity in his high Station, this Kingdom will for ever ſtand indebted) preſents an Inſtance by no means foreign to our Purpoſe: And this, I cannot better repreſent, than in the Words of a late learned Writer.

"THE Conſtitution of SCOTLAND, till "incorporated with that of ENGLAND, "was in Fact, a Mixture of *Monarchy* and "*Oligarchy*. The Nation conſiſted of a "*Commonalty* without the Privilege of "chuſing their own Repreſentatives; of "a Gentry, intitled indeed to repreſent "by Election, but unable to ſerve the "Nation; and of a Nobility who op-"preſſed the one, and deſpiſed both.

"IN

SECT. XV.

" In this Situation, the Repreſentatives " of the Commons, diſcouraged with " their own Inſignificancy, either did not " attend the Parliament, or ſurrendered " their Privileges when in it. It appears " by the Acts of 1457, and 1503, that " though the Act of 1427, had given the " Freeholders a Power of ſending Repre- " ſentatives to Parliament, yet none, or " few, were ſent.——

" The Revolution firſt brought other " Maxims into our (the *Scotch*) Govern- " ment; and the Union gave other Rights " to our Part of the Legiſlature: So that " now, our *Lords* and *Commons* being in- " corporated with thoſe of the *Engliſh*, " the Conſtitution of *Scotland* is ſettled " upon that juſt Poiſe, betwixt Monarchy, " Ariſtocracy, and Democracy, which has

" made

SECT. XV. "made the Conſtitution of ENGLAND "the Wonder of Mankind *."

THUS, we ſee, the Kingdom of SCOTLAND was in great Part reſcued from the exorbitant Power of the *Ariſtocratic* Branch, by its Union with ENGLAND; and its Freedom compleated by the Abolition of the heretable Juriſdictions †. But as Power may be equally uſurped and engroſſed by *different Ways*; ſo *Parliamentary Influence* may work the ſame Effects with *ſlaviſh Tenures*; and from a *new Cauſe*, the Liberties of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND may fall together.

To this Inſtance of a free Nation groaning under the exorbitant Power of its Nobles, till reſcued by its Union with another, let us add a ſtill more ſtriking Ex-

* Hiſtory of Feudal Property in *Britain*, p. 274. &c. † See ibid. p. 246.

ample,

ample, of a modern free State overturned from its Foundations from the Prevalence of the ſame Cauſe. SECT. XV.

" AFTER the Concluſion of the Peace " between the two Northern Crowns, in " 1660, ſome conſiderable Care and " Time was neceſſary to redreſs the Diſ- " orders occaſioned by ſo terrible a War. " DENMARK had been moſt violently " ſhaken :—The *People* had been in a " Manner ruined by the Miſeries attend- " ing the War : The *Nobility*, though " *Lords* and *Maſters*, were full of Diſ- " content.

" THE King thought fit to appoint a " Meeting of the three Eſtates at COPEN- " HAGEN, *viz.* the Nobility, Commonal- " ty, and Clergy :—The Nobility were " for exempting themſelves from paying " Taxes, except only in the Way of vo-

" luntary

SECT. XV.

" luntary Contribution. The People held " it reaſonable, that the neceſſary Sums of " Money ſhould be levied proportionally; " and that the Nobility, who enjoyed *all* " the *Lands*, ſhould at leaſt pay their " *Share* of the *Taxes*.

" THIS Manner of arguing was very " diſpleaſing to the Nobles; and begat " much Heat, and many Replies on both " Sides. At Length a principal Senator " ſtood up, and in great Anger told the " Preſident of the City, that the Com- " mons neither underſtood nor conſidered " the Privilege of the Nobility, who at " all Times had been exempted from " Taxes, nor the true Condition of them- " ſelves, who were no other than *Slaves*: " [the Word in the *Daniſh* Tongue, is " *unfree*]. This Word *Slaves* put all the " Burghers and Clergy in Diſorder: On " which NANSON, the *Speaker* of the " Houſe

" Houſe of Commons, roſe out of his SECT.
" Seat, and ſwore, that the Commons XV.
" were no Slaves; nor would from thence-
" forth be called ſo by the Nobility;
" which they ſhould ſoon prove to their
" Coſt.

" It was now thought neceſſary, by
" the Commons, to conſider ſpeedily of
" the moſt effectual Means to ſuppreſs the
" intolerable Pride of the Nobility, and
" how to mend their own Condition.
" After many Debates, they concluded,
" that they ſhould immediately wait upon
" the King, and offer him their Votes
" and Aſſiſtance to be abſolute Monarch
" of the Realm.—They promiſed them-
" ſelves, the King would have ſo great
" Obligations to them for this Piece of
" Service, that he would grant and con-
" firm ſuch Privileges, as ſhould put
" them above the Degree of Slaves.

" They

SECT. XV.

" They knew, he had been hitherto " curbed by the Nobility to a great Mea- " ſure; and now ſaw their own Force, to " perform what they undertook. At the " worſt, they ſuppoſed they ſhould only " change *many Maſters* for *one*; and could " better bear Hardſhips from a *King*, than " from *inferior* Perſons: Beſides the Sa- " tisfaction of *Revenge*, on thoſe who had " hitherto not only *uſed* them *ill*, but *in- " ſulted* over them ſo lately. They knew " the King, and had ſeen him bear with " an admirable Patience and Conſtancy, " all his Calamities; were perſuaded " that he was a valiant Prince, who had " often expoſed his Perſon for the Sake of " the Public; and therefore thought, " they could never do enough to ſhew their " Gratitude.

" SCARCE was this Propoſal made, but " it was agreed to: and nothing but the " Unſea-

SECT. XV.

" Unſeaſonableneſs of the Time, it being
" now near Night, deferred the imme-
" diate Execution of it: but all the ne-
" ceſſary Meaſures were taken againſt next
" Morning.

" All this while, the Nobles either had
" none, or but ſmall Intimations of the
" Deſigns of the Commons. They had
" been ſo long uſed to ſlight and tyran-
" nize over them, that they were not
" now ſenſible of any impending Dan-
" ger from thence; contemning their
" Threats as well as their Perſons; and
" imagining they would have repented
" next Day, and complied with all that
" ſhould have been demanded of them:
" But the Plot was deeper laid than they
" ſuppoſed: for not only the Prime Mi-
" niſter, but ſome other Members of
" their own Body, who had Employ-
" ments depending on the Court, were
" enga-

SECT. XV.

" engaged in it. This Inadvertency, with " the Want of requiſite Courage on the " Occaſion, brought upon them the Miſ- " chief on a ſudden; ſo that, except two " or three, who were more than ordinary " doubtful of what might happen, and " ſlipt out of Town that Night, the reſt " were altogether fearleſs of Danger, till " the very Inſtant that the Evil was reme- " dileſs.

" SCHACK, the Governor of the Town, " urged vehemently, that the Commons " ſhould inſiſt to have a Promiſe under the " King's Hand, and make themſelves " ſure of a Reward for ſo conſiderable a " Preſent as they were going to make, " whilſt they had ſo fair an Opportunity " in their Hands: But all his Inſtances " were in vain; they were in the giving " Humour, and reſolved to do it gene- " rouſly, truſting the King for the Per-

" formance

" formance of his Word; a Thing which SECT.
" they have ſince often, tho' too late, re- XV.
" pented of.

" THE Miſchief no ſooner appeared to
" the Nobles, but they ſaw it was una-
" voidable: There was no Leiſure al-
" lowed them to conſult; and to deny
" their Compliance, or even to delay it,
" was dangerous. They ſaw, they were
" no longer Maſters; the Commons were
" armed; the Army and Clergy againſt
" them; and they found now too late,
" that what the Day before they had con-
" ſidered only as the Effort of an uncon-
" ſtant giddy Multitude, was guided by
" wiſer Heads, and ſupported by Encou-
" ragements from Court; nay poſſibly by
" ſome of their own Body.—They were
" aſſembled in a fortified Town, remote
" from their ſeveral Countries and Inter-
" eſts (where they had governed like ſo

SECT. XV.

" many Princes) in the Power of thoſe
" who could, and certainly would be re-
" venged, in Caſe they proved refractory.
" The beſt Way, therefore, was to ſeem
" to approve of what they could not
" hinder.

" In the mean time, the Commons
" grew impatient: The Anſwer given
" them was not ſatisfactory. The Clergy
" and Burghers therefore, led on by their
" Biſhop and Preſident, proceed without
" them to the Palace, and were met by
" the Prime Miniſter, and conducted by
" him to the Hall of Audience, whither,
" after ſome ſhort Time, the King came
" to them. The Biſhop makes a long
" Speech, ſetting forth the Praiſes of his
" Majeſty, and the Cauſe of their waiting
" on him; concluding with an Offer, in
" the Name of themſelves, the two moſt
" numerous, and (if he pleaſed) the moſt
" powerful

" powerful Eſtates, of an hereditary and SECT.
" abſolute Dominion; together with the XV.
" Aſſiſtance of their Hands and Purſes,
" in Caſe any Body ſhould go about to ob-
" ſtruct ſo neceſſary and laudable a Deſign
" for the Good of the Country.

" But the Nobles were all this while
" in a grievous Diſtraction: They ſaw
" the Commons were gone to the King
" without them. Their Meſſengers
" brought News back, that their Propo-
" ſition of entailing the Crown on the
" Heirs Males, was not pleaſing, becauſe
" a greater Advantage was in Proſpect:
" That this Offer was looked upon to
" proceed from Perſons that would not
" have beſtowed any Thing, if they could
" have helped it: That it was thought
" they pretended a Merit in giving only a

SECT. XV.

" Part, when it was not in their Power " to hinder the taking the whole.

" WHILE the Nobles were all together, " an Officer comes into the Room, and " whiſpers ſome of the principal Men, " that the City Gates were ſhut, and the " Keys carried to Court. The Governor " had ſent one BILL, the Town-Major, " to put this in Execution; who, as ſoon " as he had done it, came to the Houſe " where they were met, and ſat down at " Table among the Senators. This diſ- " mal News of the Officer was preſently " whiſpered round the Company: They " aſked him, what Deſtiny was appointed " them? whether they were there to be " maſſacred, or what elſe was to be done " with them? The Town-Major calmly " anſwered, that he believed there was no " Danger towards them: That ſuch vio- " lent Meaſures would not be taken by ſo

" gracious

" gracious a King; though he had indeed SECT. XV.
" given the Orders himſelf for the ſhutting
" the Gates; and that no body was to
" ſtir out of Town without Leave. There
" wanted no more than this Confirmation
" from the Officer, to overthrow all the
" Reſolution and Conſultations of the
" Nobles: The Dread of loſing their
" Lives took away all Thoughts of their
" Liberty. They immediately diſpatched
" Meſſengers, both to the Court and the
" Commons, to give Notice of their
" Diſpoſition to comply with what was
" formerly propoſed; aſſuring them like-
" wiſe, that they were ready to agree to
" all that ſhould be aſked of them.

" THREE Days Time was requiſite, to
" prepare Matters for that fatal Hour,
" wherein they were to make a formal
" Surrender of their Liberty. The Scaf-
" folds were raiſed in the Place before the

SECT. XV.

" Caſtle, and adorned with Tapeſtry: " Orders were given for the Soldiery and " Burghers to appear in Arms under their " reſpective Officers: And when all " Things were ready, on the 27th of " *October* in the Morning, the King, " Queen, and Royal Family, mounted on " a Theatre erected for that Purpoſe, and " being placed in Chairs of State under " Canopies of Velvet, received publickly " the Homage of all the Senators, No- " bility, Clergy, and Commons.

" THUS this great Affair was finiſhed; " and the Kingdom of DENMARK, in " four Days Time, changed from an " Eſtate little differing from *Ariſtocracy*, " to as *abſolute* a *Monarchy* as any is at " preſent in the World *."

* Account of DENMARK, by MOLESWORTH, Chap. 7.

THUS,

THUS, we ſee, DENMARK was *inſlaved* by the Inchroachments of the *Nobility* on the *Privileges* of the *Commons*. And can the higher Ranks of this Kingdom be ſo blindly partial as to imagine, that the *People* of *England* (if ever their eſſential Privileges ſhould be invaded and torn from them by the fatal Arts of Parliamentary Influence) would tamely ſit down under ſo cruel an Oppreſſion, and not repel ſo *deſperate* an *Evil*, though it were even at the Hazard of a *deſperate Remedy?* SECT. XV.

THESE, no Doubt, are ungrateful Remarks, to thoſe whom they moſt concern. But the Writer continues to wrap himſelf up in the Integrity of his Intentions; and concludes in the cogent Style of a Perſon, once reverenced by the Anceſtors of the

SECT. XV. modern Great:—"Am I therefore your "Enemy, becauſe I tell you the Truth?"

SECT. XVI.

Of the immediate Conſequences of national Selfiſhneſs and Diſunion.

SECT. XVI. "If we would obtain a full View of "our Subject, it is a neceſſary, though diſ-"agreeable Taſk, to trace this Diſunion "through its particular Effects *."

THE ruling Principle of miniſterial or parliamentary Influence had hitherto been declaimed againſt, as ſolely tending to deſtroy our Liberties, by giving too much Power to the Crown. In the Progreſs of this Work, it hath been ſhewn to have had other fatal Effects, by deſtroying the national *Capacity*, *Valour*, and Spirit of *Union* †.

* Vol. I. p. 123. † Ibid. p. 127, &c.

'Tis

'Tis with the greateſt Satisfaction, that the Writer finds the general Senſe of the Nation, ſince the Publication of his firſt Eſſay, turned into the ſame new Channel. SECT. XVI.

THIS important Circumſtance, therefore, being now generally agreed to, except among thoſe few who expect to be Gainers by the common Calamity, it needs the leſs to be inforced or inlarged on, in this Volume. The ruinous Effects of this inſatiable Thirſt of Power and Profit, founded in Parliamentary Influence, together with the notorious Incapacity, Effeminacy, Inaction, and Debility, of thoſe who aſpire to the higheſt and moſt important Truſts, are at length no longer doubted. All Attention is turned on Gain or Pleaſure; Duty is forgot, or laughed at: The main Springs of Government are thus relaxed; and, if a timely Check is not put

to

SECT. XVI. to this ruling Evil, the Nation, in all Appearance, devoted to Deſtruction: Inſomuch, that the late and preſent Strife about Places of Profit in *this* Kingdom, puts one in Mind of the *drunken Crew* of the Ship, who were *ſquabbling* about the *Brandy Caſks*, while the *Veſſel* was *ſplitting* on a Rock.

SECT. XVII.

Of the moſt practicable Remedy for this capital Evil.

SECT. XVII. WAVING therefore, for the preſent, many new and material Points of Enquiry, which will naturally offer themſelves to Conſideration, in the Progreſs of the firſt Volume, I ſhall proceed to conſider what may be the firſt and moſt practicable Means of reſtoring the Nation to its natural Strength.

I MEAN not to enter into a Detail of all thoſe Methods, by which a general Reformation, founded on a general Change of Manners

Manners and Principles, might be attempted. This were an idle Project under our preſent Circumſtance. All that can be hoped for, in the firſt Inſtance, is only to ſtop the Career of the Nation in its Progreſs towards immediate Ruin. The Motion of the *Ship* muſt be *gradually* changed and relaxed, if we would wind her *ſafely* into *Port:* Too ſudden a *Check*, thro' the *Violence* of the *Concuſſion*, might be *fatal.* SECT. XVII.

THE Writer fears, the very firſt Circumſtance by which alone even a *partial* Reform can be begun, will be regarded as chimerical, if not inhuman. He foreſees, the Remedy will prove a nauſeous Draught to thoſe who muſt take it: Not much more palatable, than a Meſs of SPARTAN *Black broth.*

IT hath been laid down by the beſt political Writers, as a capital Maxim, that, in order

SECT. XVII.

order to bring back a State to its firſt Principles, you muſt cut off the corrupted Members of the Body Politic. Now, if the Principles advanced in this Work be true, the corrupted Members of OUR Body Politic ſhould ſeem to be thoſe, who thro' the Force of parliamentary or other Influence are poſſeſſed of Places of Truſt and Conſequence in any public Department of the State, for which they are in any Reſpect INCAPABLE. Theſe Gentlemen will do the Writer great Injuſtice, if they charge him with any Deſign againſt their *Lives*; but their *Appointments*, he muſt needs think, they ought to be *deprived of*, becauſe they fulfil not thoſe Conditions on which, and for the Sake of which, theſe *Appointments* were *given* by their *Country*. To *diſplace* theſe Men therefore, as far as the Laws allow; to *prevent* others from creeping in upon the ſame Principle; and to *beſtow* public Offices of Truſt and Importance on Men

Men of *Capacity*, *Courage*, and *Virtue*, is in Effect to cut off the *corrupted* Members of the State, and to reſtore it to its *firſt Principles*. SECT. XVII.

SECT. XVIII.

By what Means this Remedy can be effected.

SUPERFICIAL Writers talk of the Reformation of a State, as if it was a Matter of no more Difficulty, than that of ſweeping out a Room, or clearing a China Jar of Cobwebs. SECT. XVIII.

BUT they who look a little deeper into Things, are ſoon convinced, that it is a Work of almoſt inſuperable Difficulty. The Reaſon is this. A State cannot want a general Reform, unleſs the Great be corrupted: now when theſe are corrupted,

" a coercive

SECT. XVIII.

" a coercive Power is wanting: They who ſhould cure the Evil are the very Delinquents; and moral or political Phyſic, is what no diſtempered Mind will ever adminiſter to itſelf *."

If the Shepherds are watchful, the Flock is eaſily kept within the Fold: But if theſe be careleſs of their Charge, " Quis " cuſtodiet ipſos Cuſtodes?"

The great *Geometer* ſaid, " Give me but " a *Place* to ſtand on, and I will *move* the " *Earth*." So ſays the true Politician, " Give me but a *coercive Power*, and I " will *reform* the *Great*."

Such a *coercive Power* (like the Geometer's imaginary Station) is of ſuch Difficulty to be found, that the Writer made no Scruple to declare, " that Necessity

* Vol. I. p. 220.

" alone

" alone muſt in ſuch a Caſe be the Parent SECT.
" of Reformation: So long as degenerate XVIII.
" and unprincipled Manners can ſupport
" themſelves, they will be deaf to Rea-
" ſon, blind to Conſequences, and obſti-
" nate in the long eſtabliſhed Purſuit of
" Gain and Pleaſure *."

THIS compelling Power, therefore, *Neceſſity*, may be of two different Kinds.

ONE Kind of *Neceſſity*, not yet come upon us, though it be too evidently advancing, is " when the State itſelf totters,
" through the general Incapacity, Cowar-
" dice, or Diſunion, of thoſe who ſhould
" ſupport it †." This may properly be called *external Neceſſity*: Becauſe, whenever it appears, it will come from *without*. The Enemies of our Country will pour in upon us; till the blindeſt and moſt

* Vol. I. p. 220. † Ibid. p. 221.

incor-

SECT. XVIII. incorrigible will be awakened to a Senſe of Danger and impending Ruin. *This* NECESSITY will prove a moſt *ſeuere*, though ſalutary *Taſk-maſter*; and ſtanding with a ſcorpion *Whip*, over a *diſſolute* and *harlot Kingdom*, *chaſtiſe* her into *Labour* and *Amendment*.

THE *Second* Kind of *Neceſſity*, ſhould it ever come upon us, is of ſuch a Genius, as might perhaps happily prevent the Approach of the *firſt*. 'Tis likewiſe of a milder Nature; nor would come with theſe alarming Circumſtances of national Ruin, with which the other muſt be dreadfully attended. This might be called an *internal Neceſſity*; and would ariſe, "when "the Voice of an abuſed People ſhould "rouze the *Great* into Fear*." If a People thus abuſed, were leſs corrupt than their Leaders, who can ſay, that this Ne-

*Vol. I. p. 221.

ceſſity

ceſſity would be either dangerous or hurtful? Might not the honeſt and powerful Voice of ſuch a People awaken the *Great*, from their *Dream* of *Folly*, and lead them to adopt thoſe ſalutary Manners and Principles, which, in a State of too *proſperous Security*, they had blindly *forſaken?* SECT. XVIII.

I AM not ignorant, that it hath been made a Point of Debate, whether, in political Matters, the general Voice of a People ought to be held worth much Regard. Right ſorry I am to obſerve, that this Doubt is the Growth of *later Times*; of Times, too, which boaſt their Love of *Freedom:* But ought, ſurely, to *bluſh*, when they look back on the generous Sentiments of *ancient Days*, which Days *we* ſtigmatize with the Name of *ſlaviſh*.

SECT. XVIII.

THUS runs the Writ of Summons, to the Parliament of the Twenty-third of EDWARD the Firſt.

"THE *King* to the venerable Father in "Chriſt, R. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "Greeting: As the moſt juſt Law, eſta- "bliſhed by the provident Wiſdom of "Princes, doth appoint, *that what con-* "*cerns all, ſhould be* APPROVED *by* ALL; "ſo it evidently implies, that *Dangers com-* "*mon* to *all*, ſhould be obviated by *Re-* "*medies provided* by *all* *."

A noble Acknowledgment from an ENGLISH *King*, which ought never, ſure,

* Thus runs the original Latin. "Rex venera- "bili in Chriſto Patri R. eadem Gratia Cantuarienſi "Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primat. Salutem. Sic- "ut Lex juſtiſſima, provida circumſpectione ſa- "crorum Principum ſtabilita, hortatur & ſtatuit, ut "*quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus approbetur*; ſic & "innuit evidenter, ut *communibus Periculis* per Re- "media *proviſa communiter* obvietur."

to

to be *forgotten* or *trod under foot* by ENGLISH Subjects! SECT. XVIII.

THERE are two manifeſt Reaſons, why, in a degenerate State, and a declining Period, the united Voice of a People is, in general, the ſureſt Teſt of Truth in all eſſential Matters on which their own Welfare depends, ſo far as the ENDS of Political Meaſures are concerned.

FIRST, Becauſe in ſuch a Period and ſuch a State, the Body of a People are naturally the leaſt corrupt Part of ſuch a People. For all *general* Corruptions, of whatever Kind, begin among the *Leaders*, and deſcend from *theſe* to the *lower* Ranks. Take ſuch a State, therefore, in what Period of Degeneracy you pleaſe, the *higher* Ranks will, in the natural Courſe of Things, be *farther* gone in the *ruling* Evils than the *lower*; and therefore, the *leſs* to be *relied* on.

SECT. XVIII. SECONDLY, A ſtill more cogent Reaſon is, that the *general Body* of the People have not ſuch a *Bias* hung upon their *Judgment* by the Prevalence of perſonal and particular *Intereſt*, as the *Great*, in all Things which relate to State Matters. It is of no particular or perſonal Conſequence to the general Body of a People, what *Men* are *employed*, provided the *general* Welfare be accompliſhed; becauſe nothing but the *general Welfare* can be an Object of Deſire to the *general Body*. But it is of much particular and perſonal Conſequence to the Great, what *Men* are *employed*; becauſe, through their Connexions and Alliances, they muſt generally find either their *Friends* or *Enemies* in *Power*. Their own private *Intereſts*, therefore, naturally throw a *Bias* on their *Judgments*, and deſtroy that *Impartiality* which the general

general *Body* of an *uncorrupt People* doth naturally *poſſeſs*. SECT. XVIII.

HENCE then it appears, that the united Voice of an uncorrupt People is, in general, the ſafeſt Teſt of *political* GOOD and EVIL; and therefore, the beſt Aid and Aſſiſtant to an upright Prince, in the Choice of ſuch MINISTERS as may ſecure to them the GOOD, and divert the EVIL.

BUT as *Philoſophy* may aid and confirm the general Senſe of an uncorrupt People in this important Circumſtance; ſo, the Writer leaves it to the Determination of his Country, whether, if ever a GREAT MINISTER * ſhould ariſe among us, he would not naturally be diſtinguiſhed by the following characteriſtic Qualities.

* Let it be obſerved, that there is an eſſential Diſtinction to be maintained here, between a *good Miniſter* and a *great Miniſter*. They may be *equally upright* in their *Intentions*; but the Difference may lie either in the ſuperior *Ability*, or *Courage* of the *latter*.

SECT. XIX.

Of the Characteriſtics of a great Miniſter.

SECT. XIX.

HE will not only have honeſt Intentions of Mind, but Wiſdom to plan, and Courage to execute.

HE will regard the Intereſts of the Prince and People, as inſeparably and invariably united.

HE will, to the utmoſt of his Power, aboliſh miniſterial Influence on Parliaments, and diſcourage Parliamentary Influence among the Great.

HE will endeavour to deſtroy Party Diſtinctions; and to unite all Men, in the Support of the common and national Welfare.

In Conſequence of this, he will be hated by the corrupt Part of the Kingdom, high and

and low; becauſe *their* Expectations of Advantage, can only ariſe from thoſe Diſtinctions and that Influence which *He* labours to aboliſh. SECT. XIX.

THE honeſt and unprejudiced Part of the Nation will adore him, for the contrary Reaſon.

HE will be remarkable, rather for his Knowledge in the great Principles of Wiſdom and Virtue, than in the oblique Ways and Myſteries of ſelfiſh Cunning.

HE may be diſplaced once, or more than once, by the Power of Faction: But the united Voice of an uncorrupt People will reſtore him to the Favour of the Sovereign; eſpecially in a Time of Danger. And the oftener he is cut down by corrupt Power, the deeper Root he will take in the Affections of the Prince and People, and riſe and flouriſh with renewed Vigour.

SECT. XIX.

His private Life will be conſiſtent with his public Conduct: He will not adopt, but ſcorn the degenerate Manners of the Times. Above Luxury and Parade, he will be modeſt and temperate; and his Contempt of Wealth will be as ſignal as his Contempt of Luxury.

He will be diſtinguiſhed by his Regard to Religion, Honour, and his Country.

He will not deſpiſe, but honour the People, and liſten to their united Voice.

If his Meaſures are not always clear to the People in their *Means*, they will always be ſo in their *Ends*. In this, he will imitate a great Queen, or her great Miniſter, "whoſe Policy was deep, and the Means "ſhe employed were often very ſecret; "but the Ends to which this Policy and "theſe Means were directed, *were never* "*equivocal.*"

SECT. XIX.

As a natural and happy Conſequence of this Conduct, ſhould he happen either to *err* in a *Deſign*, or *fail* in its *Execution*, an uncorrupt People will ſtill *confide* in him. They will continue to repoſe on his general Wiſdom and Integrity; will regard him as a kind and watchful Father; yet, tho' *wiſe*, not *infallible*.

He will look *forward*, rather than to what is *paſt*; and be more zealous to ſelect and reward thoſe who may do well, than to proſecute thoſe whom, in his own Opinion, he may think Delinquents.

His Principles and Conduct, as they will be *hated* by *vile*, ſo they will be *derided* by *narrow* Minds, which cannot enlarge their Conceptions beyond the beaten Track of preſent Practice. Prince Maurice was *ridiculed* in his *firſt Attempts*, for thoſe

SECT. XIX. thoſe very Expedients, by which he drove the SPANIARDS out of his Country *.

IF his little or no Influence in Parliament be objected to him, he will anſwer as HENRY the Great did with regard to *Rochelle*, "I do all I deſire to do there, in "doing nothing but what I ought."

HE will practiſe "that double Oeco-"nomy, which is ſo rarely found, or "even underſtood. I mean, not only "that inferior Oeconomy, which conſiſts "in the Management of the Receipts "and Iſſues of the public Revenue; but "that ſuperior Oeconomy, which conſiſts "in contriving the great Schemes of Ne-"gotiation and Action."

THE Laws he frames, will be generous and comprehenſive; that is, in Lord VE-

* *Burniſh*, Bat. illuſtrat. p. 189.

RULAM'S

RULAM's nervous Expreſſion, "Deep, not SECT. "vulgar: not made upon the Spur of a XIX. "particular Occaſion for the preſent, but "out of Providence of the future; to "make the Eſtate of the People ſtill more "and more happy, after the Manner of "the Legiſlators in ancient and heroical "Times."

ABOVE all, he will ſtudy to reſtore and ſecure upright *Manners* and *Principles*; knowing *theſe* to be the very *Strength* and *Vitals* of *every State*.

As by all theſe Means, he will put the natural and internal Springs of Government into Action; ſo he will keep up that Action in its full Vigour, by employing Ability and Merit: And hence, Men of Genius, Capacity, and Virtue, will of Courſe fill the moſt important and publick Stations,

SECT. XIX. Stations, in every Department of the State.

To fulfil this great Purpoſe, he will ſearch for Men, capable of ſerving the Public, without regard to Wealth, Family, Parliamentary Intereſt, or Connexion.

He will deſpiſe thoſe idle Claims, of *Priority* of Rank, or *Seniority* in Station, when they are *unſupported* by *Services* performed in that Rank and Station: He will ſearch for thoſe, wherever they are to be found, whoſe active Spirits and ſuperior Capacity promiſe Advantage to the Public.

He will not abuſe this Power indulged to him, of ſuperſeding ſuperior Rank, by preferring his own Favourites. If he finds the Appearance of Ability and Worth among

mong the Friends or Dependents of his Enemies, he will truſt them with the Execution of his moſt important Deſigns, on the Succeſs of which, even his own Character may depend. SECT. XIX.

HAVING no Motive, but the Welfare of his Country; if he cannot accompliſh *that*, by ſuch Meaſures as his Heart approves, he will not ſtruggle for a Continuance in Power, but bravely and peaceably *reſign*.

SECT. XX.

The Concluſion.

WHETHER ſuch a Character as is here delineated, may ever ariſe, is a Queſtion which it were ſuperfluous for the Writer to determine: If ever ſuch a Miniſter appears, he will beſt be ſeen by his own Luſtre. SECT. XX.

THERE

SECT. XX.

THERE is another Character, belonging indeed to a much lower Walk in Life, which might be no leſs ſtrange than that which is here delineated. I mean, the Character of a political Writer, not only *intentionally*, but *in fact* IMPARTIAL.

THIS is a Character which hath never yet exiſted; nor, probably, will ever appear, in our own Country. However, let us attempt a Sketch of this ideal Pourtrait, for the Uſe of thoſe who may aſpire to Impartiality; and conſider, "by what "Characteriſtics HE would be diſtin-"guiſhed."

HE would chuſe an untrodden Path of Politics, where no Party-man ever dared to enter.

HE

HE would be diſliked by Party-bigots of every Denomination; who, while they applauded one Page of his Work, would execrate the next. SECT. XX.

THE undiſguiſed Freedom and Boldneſs of his Manner, would pleaſe the Brave, aſtoniſh the Weak, diſguſt and confound the Guilty.

EVERY Rank, Party, and Profeſſion would acknowledge he had done tolerable Juſtice to every Rank, Party, and Profeſſion, their own only excepted.

HE would be called *arrogant* by thoſe, who call every Thing *Arrogance*, that is not *Servility*.

IF he writ in a Period, when his Country was declining; while he pointed out the

SECT. XX.

the Means from whence alone honeſt *Hope* could ariſe, he would be charged by ſcribbling Sycophants with plunging a Nation in *Deſpair*.

WHILE he pointed out the Abuſes of Freedom, and their fatal Effects, he would be blackened by deſigning Whiſperers, as the Enemy of Freedom itſelf.

THE worthleſs of every Profeſſion would be his ſworn Enemies; but moſt of all, the worthleſs of his own Profeſſion.

As he would be reviled and defamed by the *diſſolute* Great, without Cauſe; ſo he would be applauded by an *honeſt* People, beyond his Deſervings.

THO' his Abilities were ſmall, yet the Integrity of his Intentions would make Amends

Amends for the Mediocrity of his Talents. SECT. XX.

As ſuch a Writer could have little Pretenſions to literary Fame, ſo he would not be intoxicated with the Fumes of literary Vanity: But would think, with SHEFFIELD, that

One Moral, or a mere well-natur'd Deed,
Does all Deſert in Sciences exceed.

YET, tho' he ſcorned the Gildings of falſe Ambition, and Riches acquired by Adulation; he might not, poſſibly, be unconſcious of that unſought Dignity, that envy'd Superiority to Wealth and Titles, which even the Love of Wiſdom and Virtue give.

SHOULD any of the Great, therefore, affect to diſdain him, on account of his private Station, he might perhaps reply, with PERDITA,

SECT. XX.

I was not much afraid; for once or twice
I was about to ſpeak, and tell him plainly,
The ſelf-ſame Sun that ſhines upon his Palace,
Hides not his heav'nly Viſage from *my* Cottage,
But looks on *both alike*.

His free and unconquered Spirit would look down with Contempt on Views of Intereſt, when they came in Competition with Views of Duty.

Nay, were he called to ſo ſevere a Trial, he would even dare to make the greateſt and the rareſt of all honeſt Sacrifices, that of Friendſhip itſelf, to Truth and Virtue.

Should the Senſe of his Duty to his Country determine him to a farther Proſecution of his Labours, he would ſay,

If

If ſuch his Fate, do thou, fair TRUTH, deſcend, SECT.
And watchful, guard him in an honeſt End: XX.
Kindly ſevere, inſtruct his equal Line,
To court no Friend, nor own a Foe, but thine.
But if his giddy Eye ſhould vainly quit
Thy ſacred Paths, to run the Maze of Wit;
If his apoſtate Heart ſhould e'er incline
To offer Incenſe at Corruption's Shrine,
Urge, urge thy Pow'r; the black Attempt confound;
Oh, daſh the ſmoking Cenſer to the Ground!
Thus aw'd to Fear, inſtructed Man may ſee,
That Guilt is doom'd to ſink in Infamy.

FINIS.

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